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10. Anthropology-Geography Study of Arno Atoll, Marshall Islands

by LEONARD MASON

11. Land Tenure in the Marshall Islands

by J. E. TOBIN

Issued by

THE PACIFIC SCIENCE BOARD

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Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is a pleasure to commend the far-sighted policy of the Office of Naval Research, with its emphasis on basic research, as a result of which a grant has made possible the continuation of the Coral Atoll Program of the Pacific Science Board.

It is of interest to note, historically, that much of the fundamental information on atolls of the Pacific was gathered by the U. S. Navy's South Pacific Exploring Expedition, over one hundred years ago, under the command of Captain Charles Wilkes. The continuing nature of such scientific interest by the Navy is shown by the support for the Pacific Science Board's research programs, CIMA, SIM, and ICCP, during the past five years. The Coral Atoll Program is a part of SIM.

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ATOLL RESEARCH BULLETIN

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Anthropology-Geography Study of Arno Atoll, Marshall Islands

by Leonard Mason

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FIGURE

Map of Arno Atoll	(facing p. 20)

ANTHROPOLOGY-GEOGRAPHY STUDY

This report covers the field activities of the anthropology-geography section of the Coral Atoll Project at Arno from June 12th to September 13th, 1950. Transportation, living accommodations, and facilities for this work were made possible by a grant from the Office of Naval Research through the Pacific Science Board (National Research Council), and with the generous cooperation of the Office of Island Governments, Department of the Navy, and the Civil Administration staff, Marshalls District, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The University of Hawaii very graciously contributed funds to support the making of a comprehensive photographic record of Arno anthropology and geography.

Within the framework of the Arno Atoll Project, the problems of human relations and of certain cultural adjustments by Arnoese to their physical environment were investigated by the author, with the aid of two assistants, Mr. John Tobin (anthropology) and Mr. Gerald Wade (geography), both graduate students from the University of Hawaii. Tobin and Wade were part of the first contingent of the expedition which departed from Hawaii on June 10, 1950. Due to another commitment, the author was not able to join the group until July 3rd at Majuro. Tobin remained with us at Arno until August 9th, when he left for Majuro to assume his new duties as anthropological adviser to the Civil Administrator, Marshall Islands. Wade and the author were among the last to leave Arno, and returned to Honolulu on September 15, 1950.

One of the reasons why Arno Atoll was selected as the site for the Coral Atoll Project was because of its relative accessibility, as compared with other possible sites in the Trust Territory. In most cases,

team members arrived at Arno within two to five days after departure from Hickam Field, Hawaii. The Navy furnished air transportation from Hawaii to Majuro. Flight time via MATS (Military Air Transport Service) planes from Hickam to Kwajalein is approximately twelve hours, that from Kwajalein to Majuro via the PBM air logistics service is less than two hours. Surface transportation from Majuro to Arno, about eleven miles airline distance from Majuro, required varying periods of time, depending on wind, weather, and type of shipping. Primary dependence was placed by the team on sailing craft, either under contract from Marshallese owner-operators or as a service provided by the Civil Administration school facility at Majuro. Some trips were as short as three hours, the longest was three days.

Daily MATS schedules from Hawaii and weekly logistics flights within the Marshalls, together with almost weekly freighting trips between Arno and Majuro, provided members of the expedition with a fairly regular mail and supply service. With few exceptions, communication with the outside world was most satisfactory, and the success of the project will depend in no small part on this factor.

Land and Water.

The index map of Arno Atoll, which accompanies this report, shows a land area of approximately five square miles, divided into 133 islands of varying size and for which there are 106 Marshallese names. The spelling of these names follows the new orthography which is being worked out in cooperation with Dr. Samuel H. Elbert, University of Hawaii linguist, and the Trust Territory administration. A key to

pronunciation is presented on the map itself. The author proposes that this place-name terminology be used by members of the Coral Atoll Project when submitting their final reports for publication on their respective areas of interest. Copies of this map are being distributed to other members of the project.

Some of the islands are little more than rises of sand above the coral reef, supporting only beach scrub and perhaps a few coconut trees. Other islands, such as Arno or Ine, are several miles long, as much as half a mile wide, and heavily forested in the interior. Although all land in Arno Atoll is owned in accordance with Marshallese custom, just one-third of the islands are permanently occupied by Arnoese. The remaining two-thirds are visited for short periods to harvest coconuts in the production of copra. The main lagoon and the northern and eastern enclosed, smaller lagoons, all of which total approximately 130 square miles of surface area, provide adequate fishing grounds. The lagoons are also utilized as the primary area for communication by outrigger canoes operating between islands within the atoll.

Population.

According to the mid-1950 Civil Administration estimate, Arnoese numbered 1,155. Census samples taken by us during the summer, however, indicate the probability of a somewhat smaller population. The problem of determining accurate totals is rendered difficult by the Marshallese custom of constant migration from one landholding to another in the routine of copra production or for visits to relatives for varying periods of time. A not insignificant movement was also noted between

Arno and the nearby atolls of Majuro and Mili. Limitations of time restricted us to detailed population surveys at only three islands: Arno, Ine, and Jab'ü. When the results of this work are compared with the atoll scribe's official register, discrepancies in the latter reveal that a fairer estimate of Arno's present population might be around 850. The atoll register still includes names of war refugees from other Marshall atolls who were temporarily resident at Arno during 1944 and 1945. Nearly all of these transients were repatriated in 1946 by Military Government, except where ties of friendship, adoption, or marriage bound a few of them more permanently to Arno.

Available statistics on births and deaths at Arno since 1946 indicate a preponderance of births in a ratio of 3 to 1. It appears that this trend will not provoke any serious problem of overpopulation at Arno for many years to come, if we are to accept statements from older Marshallese regarding the more densely populated character of the atoll several generations ago. When the team's analysis of Arno's present food resources, both agricultural and marine, is completed it is certain that additional support for the above statement will be forthcoming.

The Arno people today are scattered in many groups of less than 150 persons each throughout the larger islands of the atoll. The greatest concentrations occur at Ine and at Arno Islands, others of lesser size are at Matol-en, Tutu, Bikarej, Tinak, L'angar, Malel, Kilange, Jab'ü, and Ül-en. The anthropology-geography section of the team visited, for varying periods, the islands of Ine, Matol-en, Jab'ü, Kinäjong, Lukwoj, Arno, Tutu, Takleb, Tinak, Kilange, and Malel (one month was spent at Arno Island, one to three weeks each at Ine, Tinak, and Jab'ü).

Natural resources.

Tutu Passage on the northern side of Arno's main lagoon is located at 7° 7' N. latitude and 171° 41' E. longitude. Thus Arno is well within the tropics. Its position in regard to the equator and the tradewind area ensures that the atoll is well supplied with rain throughout the year. Expedition members experienced some difficulty toward the end of the summer in scheduling outdoor work due to an increasing number of rainy days. Although the soil of coral atolls is generally not good, the vegetation picture at Arno is encouraging, especially in the larger islands, where more than enough food plants grow to meet the subsistence needs of the present population. The range of food-producing flora includes coconut, pandanus, breadfruit, bananas, some papaya and limes, arrowroot in great quantities, a little taro-like Cyrtosperma, and small plantings of sweet potatoes. For use in fiber handicraft manufactures, there are adequate reserves of pandanus, hibiscus, coconut, and the beach creeper Triumphetta procumbens.

While the southern Marshalls do not constitute the best stocked fishing area in the archipelago, there appears to be sufficient marine life to support several times the present Arno population. Reef,, lagoon, and deepsea areas at Arno are not utilized by the local inhabitants to the fullest extent possible. The customary land and sea birds of eastern Micronesia are found at Arno, but play no important role in the subsistence economy of Arnoese. Rats and mice, practically the only wild mammalian life, provide somewhat of a pest problem. Insect life includes the annoying mosquito which we found a nuisance in most islands

both night and day. Numerous dogs and cats serve the people more as scavengers than as pets. Pigs and chickens are raised in a haphazard manner as a primary source of meat on festival occasions. Detailed studies of the natural resources of Arno were made by other members of the expedition, and will be reported by them elsewhere.

Effects of the war.

Apart from the general collapse of export-import trade and shipping, Arnoese suffered only minor disturbances during the war. Such was not the experience, for example, of Marshallese at Mili, to the southward, where a large Japanese-garrisoned airbase was bombed continually by American planes in the last year or two of the war; or at nearby Majuro, where the establishment of an important American forward area activity resulted in considerable disruption of another order for Majuro Marshallese. The one outstanding incident of warfare at Arno was the crash of a four-engined American bomber in the lagoon off Jab'ū Island, at which time several of the crew were killed, and others imprisoned by the Japanese. Arnoese buried the crash victims and tended their graves until 1946 when Americans exhumed the remains for more permanent interment in the United States. The plane still rests on the lagoon reef, a tragic reminder of the war, but a source of valuable metal for coconut-grater blades, husking-stick points, and numerous other Arnoese artifacts.

Both Arno and Tutu Islands served as relocation areas from 1944 to 1946 for Marshallese refugees whom American night raiders had spirited away from the by-passed, Japanese-held atolls of Mili, Jaluit, and Maloelab. Some dislocation of Arno community life was occasioned by these temporary residents. Increasing contact with Americans and with

Marshallese from other atolls brought Arnoese out of their previous isolation, and contributed notably to the Western orientation observed today in certain segments of the population.

Arno - a study in contrasts.

At Arno Atoll we had the opportunity to observe a remarkable gradation of population groupings, each of which in a way represented a development in the cultural history of Arno during the past century. Among the islands visited by us, the inhabitants of the eastern horn (known to Arnoese as Baranailingin - "head of the atoll") constitute one extreme in this series. Here, the small communities of L'angar, Tinak, Kilange, and Malel, now nearly two hundred people, have through decades of geographic isolation continued to maintain a profound respect for ancient Marshallese tradition. Greater regard for persons of nobility, stricter observance of tabus in behavioral relationships between certain kinfolk, less concern about exactness of land boundaries, and similar prehistoric emphasis combined to impress us with an atmosphere of anticuity. This primitive provincialism was at once refreshing for its anthropological interest, but at the same time distressing because of the disadvantages met by Baranailingin people in their transactions with more acculturated Arnoese in other parts of the atoll.

The other extreme was observed at Ine village where more than 150 people live in close proximity, in Japanese-style houses antedating the war and in Marshallese constructions remodeled with boards, plywood, and corrugated iron sheeting scrounged from American military bases at

Majuro and Kwajalein Atolls. In its shanty-town aspect, Ine recalls the impoverishment of slum sections in many of our larger cities. The diet of Ine inhabitants includes more of rice and tinned meats than is the case elsewhere in Arno. Ine is the political and economic center of the atoll, as well as the primary port for small boats operating between Arno and Majuro. Even the mission is established at Ine, thus making that village the spiritual focus of the predominantly Protestant population of Arno. It was natural enough that Ine served us as expedition headquarters from which sporadic survey trips were undertaken to the outer islands for sampling purposes.

Arno Island, the richest in natural resources and supporting the largest population of all islands in the atoll, assumes an intermediate position with respect to the cultural extremes noted at Baranailingin and Ine. Arno inhabitants depend more upon local foods than do those at Ine, and build their houses more often of thatch and local timbers. One observes at Arno a fair degree of cultural awareness of the West -- not as prominently as at Ine, but quite different from the relative lack of sophistication in the eastern horn. As a result of decades of contact with traders and missionaries, who divided their labors between Arno and Ine, the social life of Arno Islanders is interwoven with that of Ineans. However, cultural equilibrium at Arno Island is well maintained, and appears likely to continue in that manner for years to come. Not so at Ine, where the population as a whole seems committed to a new life oriented toward the West.

As the above situation is viewed in its atoll-wide aspect, with special reference to economic and political affairs, these cultural differences combine with personalities to present a confusing organizational scheme replete with conflict and intrigue.* Since 1944, American administration contacts with Arnoese have been concerned with ramifications of this conflict. We devoted much of our time to an analysis of the situation, realizing that as long as it persists a more complete utilization of atoll resources and manpower cannot be attained. We trust that our observations will be of assistance to Civil Administration officials in their future relations with the Arno people.

Communication between Arnoese and Americans.

The presence during the summer of twelve American scientists at Arno afforded the islanders considerable diversion from their usual routine. At one time or another most of the villages were visited by small parties from our headquarters at Ine. Quite obvious on these occasions was a general lack of understanding of American custom by Arnoese, for they eagerly sought opportunities to learn from us more about America and Americans. We communicated with the people almost entirely through Marshallese interpreters, although one or two members of the expedition acquired sufficient facility before the summer's end to converse in limited manner in the vernacular. Only eight or ten Arno residents understood English well enough to speak with us easily. We hired one local man as regular interpreter, while two others

* A more detailed description of the economic, political, and land administration of this situation is presented in subsequent sections of this report.

(school teachers from Ine and Arno Islands) were taken on for short periods when their teaching duties permitted. Majuro provided two additional fulltime interpreters for the first part of the season. All interpreter personnel was under the supervision of James Milne, a Marshallese and official interpreter loaned to us by Kwajalein Navy officials. Without Milne's assistance the anthropology-geography work of the expedition could not have been accomplished in the three months available.

Ordinarily, Arnoese have almost no contact with Americans in their own atoll. Official field trips visit Arno (either Tutu or Ine Islands) only four times each year, for a period of several hours on each occasion. Field trip parties normally include representatives from the Political Affairs, Medical, and Education Departments, and from the Island Trading Company. Time ashore is too limited for adequate discussion of problem areas. The inability of the people to speak English and a comparable lack of Marshallese facility by American officials (recently, there are one or two important exceptions) requires that practically all contacts be effected through interpreters. Some difficulties in the conflict situation noted in the previous section of this report have emanated from the fact that certain official interpreters at Majuro are Marshallese from Arno, or otherwise prejudiced in favor of one Arno group or another, and fail to be impartial and objective in their interpretation of the situation to American officials.

The short distance to Majuro and the small boats now available for

trips from Arno have provided certain Arnoese with greater opportunity to present their own problems at Majuro where, with more time and with their own interpreters, more satisfactory communication with Civil Administration is achieved. Even the latter course, however, does not necessarily provide a fair presentation of the Arno situation. It must be obvious that before more adequate comprehension of the Arno conflict can be attained, American officials must learn more and better Marshallese or else exercise greater caution when depending upon Marshallese interpreters. Furthermore, the complexity of the Arno conflict is such that it cannot be understood by any one in the course of four short field trips each year or through casual conversations with Arnoese visitors at Majuro.

Commercial enterprise.

From 1944 to 1947, Arnoese produced large quantities of fiber handicraft (fans, doilies, mats, belts, cigarette cases, and cup coasters) for sale to traders of the U. S. Commercial Company (USCC), the predecessor of Island Trading Company (ITC). Later, as shipping improved and copra production was revived, handicraft declined in favor of copra as the primary source of money income for Arnoese. Present income from handicraft is almost nil, due to an ITC policy whereby handicraft purchases are being restricted until surpluses of USCC stock are moved. In the year beginning July 1, 1949, Island Trading Company at Majuro, the only buyer of Arno copra, purchased approximately $40,000 worth of copra from Arno producers, averaging about $50 per capita. We collected considerable data on copra production by the month, by district, and by shipment to Majuro, and on distribution of copra income

among the Arno population according to a complex social stratification and land ownership system. A more detailed analysis of this material will be forthcoming in the near future.

Retail stores are maintained at Ine, Arno, Tutu, and Malel Islands. Storekeepers acquire their goods through the Arno Wholesale Company at a retailer's discount which enables them to make some profit on sales to the Arno consumer. The Arno Wholesale Company is an organization built on a capital investment by twelve Arno Marshallese, who control all trade imports to Arno (with the recent exception of mail order purchases from U. S. mainland firms on direct order from Arno consumers). The Arno company buys its supplies at wholesale prices from ITC Majuro. Until recently, prices at wholesale, retail, and consumer levels were controlled by Civil Administration order, but now only certain commodities remain in this restricted category. In practice, the Arno Wholesale Company continues to dictate retailer and consumer prices to some extent at Arno. Storekeepers sometimes act as copra brokers, buying from the Arno producer and shipping at their own expense to Majuro for resale there at a better price. Many Arno producers, however, prefer to deal directly with ITC Majuro because of alleged malpractice in weighing and grading by certain Arno storekeepers. This involves shipping at the producer's expense, but appears to be profitable in view of the number who continue to follow this course.

Since outrigger canoes are not suitable for shipping heavy cargo between Arno and Majuro, some groups and individuals at Arno have built or acquired larger boats for this purpose. In July, 1950, the Atoll

Council purchased a newly converted ketch from the administration-sponsored boatworks at Kwajalein. With such sailing craft, ranging from 28 to 50 feet in length and carrying from three to 16 tons, copra and trade goods are being freighted on fairly regular and frequent schedules to provide Arno boat owners and operators with an additional source of money income. It is important to note that Arnoese are now completely independent of Navy shipping in their trading requirements, and maintain all necessary contacts with Majuro by using Arno sailboats, or craft from other atolls for which contracts are made on a trip basis. This situation should improve so long as Majuro remains the center of ITC activities, for Arno is most fortunately located of all Marshall atolls in respect to its position near Majuro. Should the trading center be removed to Jaluit or to Kwajalein, as has been rumored in the islands, the Arno people would fall into a very sorry state of affairs from an economic viewpoint. Their copra output would undoubtedly slump if larger craft were not available to make the longer hauls worthwhile.

Political authority.

The government of Arno is a function of the Atoll Council, an American innovation since the war and composed of the headmen of more than 100 extended families. The atoll officials are theoretically elected by popular vote, even secret ballot -- Magistrate, Scribe, and Judge. Traditionally, Arno is divided into four areas, roughly north, east, south, and west (Jabonwör, Rearlab-lab, Ajeltokrök, and Keb-jeltok respectively; or more popularly referred to by Americans as Tutu, Malel,

Ine, and Arno). For each of these four areas the Council appoints a Village Headman, a Policeman, and a School teacher, all on salary and paid from atoll funds. The atoll budget, providing primarily for the salaries of fourteen officials (the Judge receives no salary), is met by taxes levied on male adults to the extent of $13 per annum, by licenses derived from stores and bakeries, and from fines assessed by the Village Headmen or the Atoll Court. (Schoolteachers are selected and trained by the Civil Administration Education Department, and installed in their positions with the approval of atoll officials. An additional category of "official" is the Health Aid, of which there are three (Arno, Ine, and Malel), selected and trained by the Civil Administration Medical Department, but paid by the Administration from non-atoll funds.)

The preceding paragraph describes Arno council government as conceived in theory. In practice, it fails to conform even to minimum standards of American democracy. This is not only the fault of improper indoctrination of Arnoese by Civil Administration officials who instituted the system, but stems also from a basic conflict between the concept of council government and the traditional hierarchy of Marshallese authority which still flourishes in most of Arno. The conduct of an election held just before our arrival was described in such terms that strong doubt exists as to the extent of popular support for any "elected" official at Arno. Indeed, the Arno Council is dominated by the same group of individuals that organized the Arno Wholesale Company, which controls nearly all of Arno's import trade. Since the Village

Headmen, as appointed by this minority group in the name of the Council, are probably the most active of Arno officials, a situation pregnant with dissension has been created whereby "villagers" are supervised by leaders not always of their own choosing. It was our observation that council meetings were not properly announced in advance (consequently, were not well attended nor representative). Schoolteachers have not been paid for many months because the system of tax collection as set up by the council does not function properly. Many Arnoese refuse to pay their taxes until a more representative and efficient type of local government is established.

Land.

The real source of the conflict at Arno is land and the privileges of its use and ownership. According to Marshallese custom, all land on an atoll is owned by royalty (iroij). It is administered by an older man or woman of the royal lineage, which position (iroij lab-lab, or paramount chief) is inherited from the mother's side of the family. In some atolls, there may be only one royal lineage in control, as was the case at Arno in the late nineteenth century. In other atolls, two or more lineages may hold the area in separate and independent portions, which is the case today at Arno as the result of a family quarrel 60 or 70 years ago. In any case, the land is always divided into small landholdings, each of which is occupied or worked by commoners (kajur) under the direct supervision of a headman, the alab. Between the alab(s) and their iroij lab-lab there is usually (although not always) an intermediate supervisor, who may be of the royalty himself (iroij erik, or little chief), or of common birth but raised to privileged status

(läatök-tök) because of his or his ancestor's abilities. The position of each person in the hierarchy is hereditary in relation to the land, except when the paramount chief wishes to effect a change at his own pleasure or under pressure from his advisers. Thus, the royalty own the land and receive tribute from the commoners who occupy it and work it for them. The intermediaries receive their share of the tribute as it passes up the line, in proportion to the relative importance of their positions. The paramount chief once was responsible for the welfare and safety of the people on his lands, a reciprocal feature which must have been a strong supporting factor, but which appears now to be more prominent in its oversight.

The conflict at Arno is not recent in origin. It began just before the turn of the century when the paramount chief attempted to take the wife of his maternal cousin, initiating a quarrel which split the lineage and the entire atoll wide apart. By 1904, the German administration in the Marshalls had put an end to warfare between the two groups, but they failed to stop the political maneuvering which followed. When the Japanese replaced the Germans in 1914, the Arno trouble flared up anew. Tales of lobbying and bribery by both parties at Jaluit, the Japanese capital in the islands, provide a lurid background for charges of illegal transfers of land at Arno in the decade or two that followed.

When the Americans came to Arno in 1944, they discovered the two groups, still independent and hostile to each other. One of them was ruled by Töbö, last of the senior branch of the old lineage and himself

an autocrat in the Marshallese tradition. The other group had lost its leader, a woman named Liwaito, during the thirties and as yet no successor had been agreed upon by her five iroij erik. Dissension began among Liwaito's group as three of the iroij erik attempted to break away completely and become independent. A fourth iroij erik was being supported by the fifth as iroij lab-lab to succeed Liwaito. In 1947, "incidents" at Arno became so frequent that the Civil Administrator at Majuro investigated the entire situation. He was hampered by the necessity of working from Majuro and of depending upon interpreters who were not impartial in the matter. His solution, admittedly an expedient, recognized the independence of Töbö, and of each of the five iroij erik of Liwaito except as any one of them should agree to support any other as Liwaito's successor. Since that time, the iroij erik of Liwaito have in effect become iroij lab-lab of the stature of Töbö, three of them siding with him in an attempt to oust the other two from their lands. This coalition on Töbö's side has very nearly the same membership as the Arno Wholesale Company, and as the minority group which controls the Atoll Council.

Conflict at Arno is not by any means limited to the upper brackets. In the course of our investigation of land ownership, tenure, and inheritance rights, we encountered innumerable disputes between commoners over the same landholding, between an alab and his iroij erik, and so forth. About twenty-five cases of disputed land rights were recorded by us and investigated as to claims of the disputing parties, background for their claims, opinions of other Marshallese about the dispute,

action taken on the case to date, and present status of the disputed land. We tried insofar as possible to avoid giving Arnoese the impression that we were able to make any decision in these matters. We constantly emphasized that we had no official status, and referred all requests for settlement to the Civil Administration at Majuro.

The people of Arno constantly reminded us that increased copra production and rehabilitation of lands neglected during the war could be achieved much quicker if the Administration would settle disputes which exist in regard to nearly every landholding in the atoll. Using a hand compass and pacing off distances, we made large-scale land maps of Arno, Ine, Tinak, Jab'ü, and Kinäjong Islands. These were compiled in consultation with occupants of the landholdings and with officials of both island and atoll for accuracy, and include information about the rights of workers, alab, iroij erik, and iroij lab-lab on each landholding, as well as notes about crop production, housing, and other cultural facilities. We checked our results with cadastrals previously prepared by Civil Administration, but found them to be in error so often that we were forced to discard them for any kind of checking of our own work. The administration maps apparently had been drawn up by Marshallese interpreters with little or no American supervision, and contained errors not only of carelessness but also of intentional misrepresentation of land rights in disputed areas. Certainly there is no peace of mind at Arno today whenever the subject of land arises.

Viewing the Arno conflict in its broad outlines, the author suggests the following problem areas for further consideration and investigation

by Civil Administration at Majuro:

(1) the very basic differences of opinion which exist between the Töbö and Liwaito groups, extending from the chiefs themselves down to the commoners on the land;

(2) the fervent desire of one of Liwaito's iroij erik (Lujim) to support another of them (Jiwirak) in the position of iroij lab-lab, as well as the similar expression of loyalty to Jiwirak as voiced by some commoners under the three other iroij erik;

(3) the revolt of the three iroij erik (Felix, Abijai, and Lainlij) from the Liwaito group, their future status, and their relations with commoners on lands under their control;

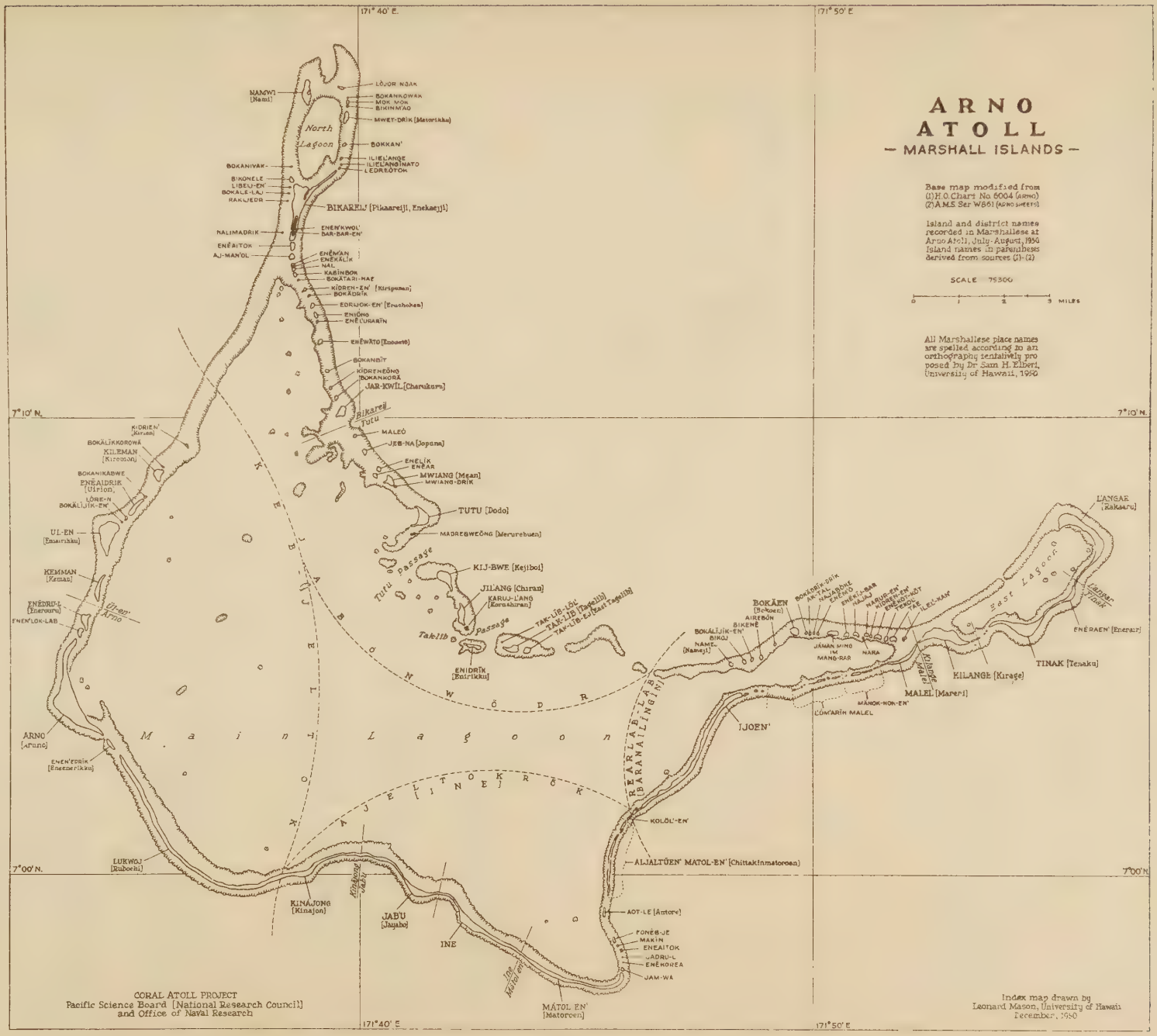
(4) a strengthening of the Atoll Council, and its possibilities as a court for mediation of land disputes; and

(5) the relation of Civil Administration to the Arno people, channels of communication, degree and method of supervision of council activities and land disputes.

It was the author's good fortune to find time at Majuro upon his return from Arno when he could talk at some length about these problem areas with the Civil Administrator, Cdr. R. W. Kenney, USNR. At the time, the author made some tentative suggestions for amelioration of certain aspects of the Arno conflict, but his own observations could not be exhaustive without a more careful analysis of his field notes. The author hopes to be able to answer more of Commander Kenney's questions of fact in the near future as he completes this work.

Miscellaneous.

Additional information in considerable detail was secured about the preparation of many Marshallese foods in season during our stay at Arno, and about the processing of the following fibers for handicraft production: coconut, pandanus, hibiscus, Triumphetta procumbens, and mangrove. About 950 black-and-white photographs were made of various activities, about 800 Kodachrome slides (35 mm.) of similar content were made, and over 5,000 feet of 16 mm. Kodachrome movie film of food preparation, dances, handicraft manufactures, outrigger canoe handling, and other Arno activities were exposed, from which a documentary movie is being prepared about Arno community life.


ARNO ATOLL
— MARSHALL ISLANDS —
Base map modified from (1) H.O. Chart No. 6004 (Arno) (2) A.M.S. Ser. W861 (Aerial survey)
Island and district names recorded in Marshallese at Arno Atoll, July-August, 1950. Island names in parentheses derived from sources (1)-(2)
SCALE 75300
0 1 2 3 MILES
All Marshallese place names are spelled according to an orthography tentatively proposed by Dr. Sam H. Elbert, University of Hawaii, 1950
171° 40' E.
171° 50' E
7° 10' N.
7° 00' N.
North Lagoon
Main Lagoon
East Lagoon
Tutu passage
Takilb Passage
Ijuen' Arno
Kejebjabwōd
Ajeltinekrōk
Rairalablab
Ibaranailing
NAMOWI [Nami]
LÖJOR NGAK
BOKANKOWAK
MOK MÖK
BIKINMÄO
MWET-DRIK [Metoriktau]
BOKKAN'
ILIELANGE
ILIELANGINATO
LEDREDTOK
BOKANIVAK-
BIKONELE
LIBELU-EN'
BOKALE-LAJ
RAKLJEDR
BIKAREJ [Pikaarejji, Enekaejji]
ENEN'KWOL'
BAR-BAR-EN'
NALIMADRIK
ENÊAITOK
AJ-MAN'OL
ENÊWAN
ENEKÄLIK
NAL
KABINBOK
BOKÄTAJI-MAE
KIDREN-EN' [Kiripuman]
BOKÄDRIK
EDRIJOK-EN' [Eruchoken]
ENIÖNG
ENELURARIN
ENÊWKTO [Enoaeto]
BOKANBIT
KIDRENEÖNG [Bokankora]
JAR-KWIL [Charukarn]
MALEÖ
JEB-NA [Jopana]
ENELIK
ENEAR
MWIANG [Mean]
MWIANG-DRIK
TUTU [Dodo]
MADREBWEÖNG [Merrurebuen]
KIJ-BWE [Kejiboi]
JILANG [Chiran]
KARUJ-LANG [Korukaiaran]
TAK-LIB-LÖL [Takelib]
TAK-LIB-LELEAN [Takelib Tagelin]
ENIDRIK [Enirikku]
KIDRIEN' [Kiruen]
BOKÄLIKKOROWA
KILEMAN [Kiromon]
BOKANIKABWE
ENÊAIDRIK [Uirion]
LÖRE-N
BOKÄLIJIK-EN'
UL-EN [Enairikau]
KEMMAN [Kemas]
ENÊDRU-L [Enerouru]
ENEN'LOK-LAB
ARNO [Aruno]
ENEN'EDRIK [Enemerikau]
LUKWOJ [Rubochi]
KINAJONG [Kinajon]
JABU [Jauaho]
INE
MÄTOL EN' [Matorcen]
KOLÖL-EN'
ALJALTÜEN' MATOL-EN' [Chittakinmatorcen]
AOT-LE [Antore]
PONÊB-JE
MAKIN
ENEAITOK
JADRU-L
ENÊKOHEA
JAM-WA
BOKÄEN [Bekoen]
BOKÄDRIK-DRIK
AR-TAL
NAL-ABONE
ENEMÖ
ENEN'KI-BAR
NAJAJ
MARUR-EN'
IDREJMOJÄT
ENEMOKE
ILEI-MAN'
BOKÄLIJIK-EN' BINOJ
AIREBÖN
BIKENÊ
NAMEN [Nameji]
JÄMAN MING IN MANO-RAR
NARA
LANGAR [Rakaaru]
ENÊRAEN' [Enenar]
TINAK [Tenaku]
KILANGE [Kiraje]
MALEL [Marerl]
MANOK-NON-EN'
LÖWARIN MALEL
IJOEN'
CORAL ATOLL PROJECT
Pacific Science Board [National Research Council] and Office of Naval Research
Index map drawn by Leonard Mason, University of Hawaii December, 1950

F-2642

MARSHALLESE PHONEMES AND ORTHOGRAPHY
(A tentative proposal)

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
Front unrounded	i, ï, ë, e, ä	Stops	b, b', bw, t, k, kw
Central unrounded	ü, ö, -, a	Affricate	j
Back rounded	u, ú, o, ó,	Nasals	m, m', mw, n, n', ng
		Trills	dr, r
		Laterals	l, l'
		Semivowels	w, y

Conventional phonetic transcriptions are given in brackets following the symbols proposed for the new Marshallese orthography. English comparisons of sounds are only approximate. Marshallese vowels are "pure," i.e., are not followed by glides.

i	[i]	ee in beet.
ï	[ɪ]	I in bit.
ë	[ɛ^]	between i in bit and e in bet.
e	[e, ɛ]	e in bet, or a in bay.
ä	[æ]	a in bat.
ü	[ɨ]	like oo in moon, but without lip rounding.
ö	[ʌ]	o in above.
-	[ə]	(excrescent), usually like a in above.
a	[ɑ, a]	a in father; in some words, like a in Boston can't.
u	[u]	oo in moon.
ú	[^{u}o]	like o in snow, but with more lip rounding.
o	[o]	o in snow.
ó	[ɔ]	o in General American off.
b	[b, p]	initially and medially, like the b's in baby; finally, like unreleased p in lap.
b'	[b^{y}]	palatalized, like b in bugle.
bw	[bw]	like bw in fast pronunciation of barbwire.
t	[d, t]	initially and medially, like the d's in daddy; finally, like unreleased t in let.
k	[g, k]	initially and medially, like the g's in go-getter; finally, like unreleased k in pick.
kw	[kw]	qu in quick.
m	[m]	m in may.
m'	[m^{y}]	palatalized, like m in mule.
mw	[mw]	like mw in fast pronunciation of tramway.
n	[n̂]	like n in net, with tongue just back of the teeth.
n'	[n]	between n in no and ng in sing.
ng	[ŋ]	ng in sing.
j	[dž, tš]	initially and medially, like the j's in Jack Johnson; finally, usually like ch in much.
dr	[r̂]	trilled r, with tongue tip close to the teeth.
r	[r̂]	trilled as in Spanish, or in some pronunciations of three.
l	[l]	initial l in little.
l'	[ɬ]	final l in little.
w	[w]	w in way.
y	[y]	y in yes.

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ATOLL RESEARCH BULLETIN

No. 11

Land Tenure in the Marshall Islands

by J. E. Tobin

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PREFACE

This report is the result of research in the field while the author was employed by the Government of the Trust Territory as Anthropological Field Consultant for the Marshalls District, August 1950 to August 1951 and from October 1951 to the present date.

It is felt that the information obtained will be of immediate practical value to those concerned with adjudication of land disputes and other analogous problems.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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J.E.T.
Majuro
3-11-52

INTRODUCTION: LAND TENURE

Land in the Marshall Islands is placed in many categories, each with its own descriptive name and rules of inheritance. The land is of paramount importance to the Marshallese people whose agricultural economy is based on copra production and much of whose diet comes from their land. This land area is so small--74 square miles scattered over 29 atolls and five islands throughout 375,000 square miles of ocean, that it is patently precious to its 11,000 inhabitants, each of whom is born with land rights.

The Marshallese system of land tenure provides for all eventualities and takes care of the needs of all of the members of the Marshallese society. No one need go hungry for lack of land from which to draw food. There are no poor houses or old peoples' homes in the Marshall Islands. The system provides for all members of the Marshallese society; it is, in effect, its social security.

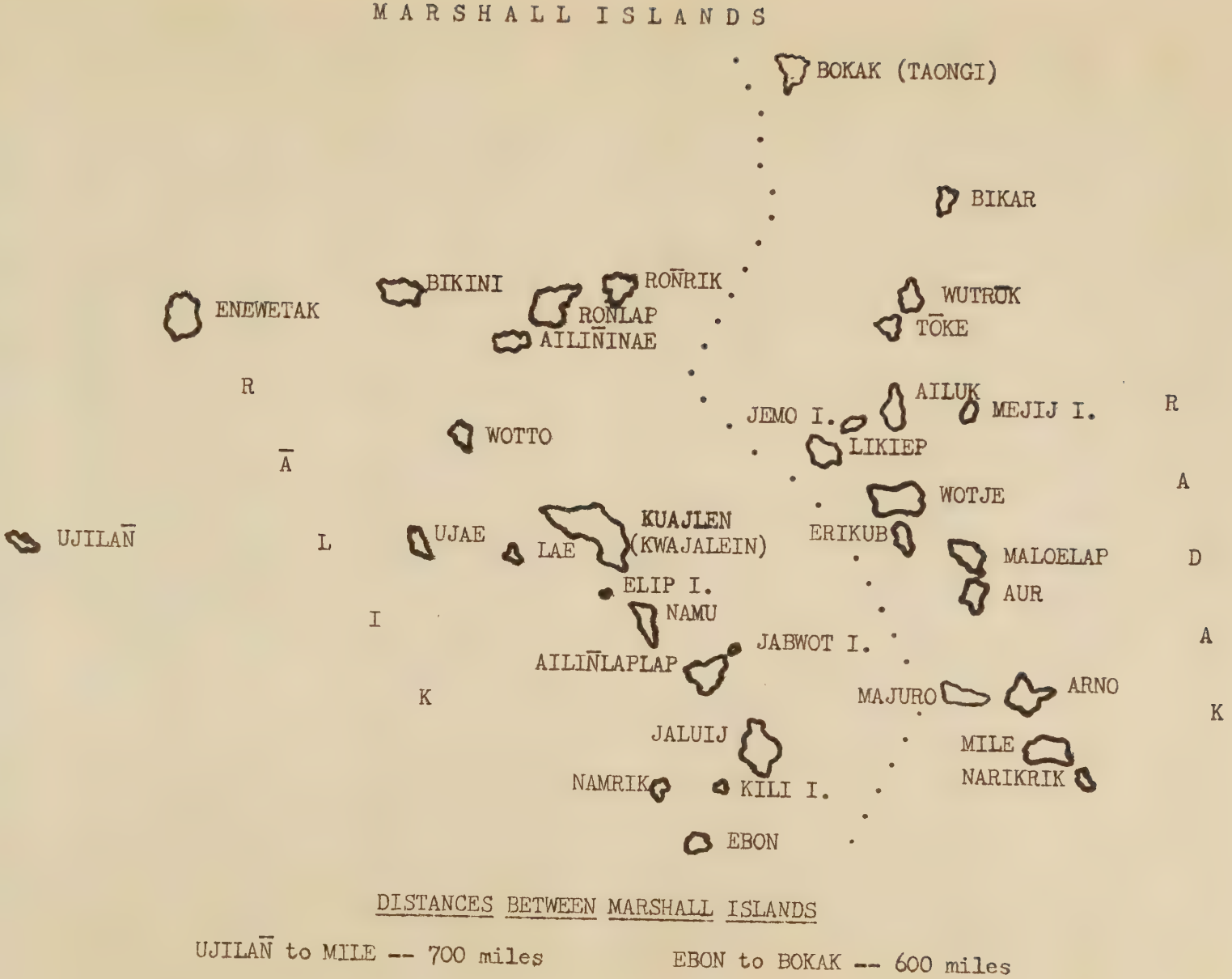
The Marshallese have an attitude of security which is undoubtedly due to a great degree to their system of land tenure. Despite the fact that they have seen three foreign powers take over their islands--German, Japanese, and American, they still have possession of most of their land, unlike the unfortunate indigenes in many other areas of the world.

The present policy forbids sale of land to non-indigenes and, at long last, steps are being taken to return lands occupied by American forces during the war and to pay retroactive rent for their use.

It is anticipated that former Japanese Government lands and land seized by the Japanese for military installations will be made available for the use of the Marshallese people. Other land needed for U.S. military and Civil Administration use, a relatively small amount, may be leased or purchased from the owners. High level policy in regard this important matter is undecided, however, at this writing.

Although the Marshallese system of land tenure may seem overly complex, it has developed to meet the needs of this particular group of people and is an integral part of the culture. Any radical change by outsiders would disturb the society and do irreparable damage--as any student of social-anthropology well knows.

Future administrators would do well to respect this system of adjustment to the environment which the Marshallese people have evolved and should allow any changes in the system of land tenure to come from within the culture. The U.S. Naval Administration, in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement, has on the whole respected indigenous customs and has not attempted to force the Marshallese people into an American mould or to drastically modify the culture. It is hoped that the future administrations will follow this wise course.



DISTANCES BETWEEN MARSHALL ISLANDS

UJILAN to MILE -- 700 miles

EBON to BOKAK -- 600 miles

Figure 1.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The typical Marshallese land-holding or wāto consists of a strip of land stretching from lagoon to ocean and varying in size from about one to five acres in extent. Each wāto has its own name and history.

Sometimes the wāto may be broken up into two or three wāto(s) with transverse boundary lines. The boundaries, kōtan wāto are marked off by lilies, red shrubs, or frequently by slashes on coconut trees. These markers are called kakōlle.

The extended family (bwij) members may live on the wāto or merely make copra on it and use its food resources: coconuts, breadfruit, pandanus, arrow root, taro (mainly in the Southern Marshalls) and fish from the adjacent marine areas, if they possess more than one wāto as is usually the case. On most of the islands, the people live on their wāto(s). The structures found are usually a cook house, one, two, or three sleeping houses, and a copra drying shed.

The houses are mainly constructed of native materials with sheet metal and salvage lumber used in varying degrees throughout the islands. The sleeping house area is covered with small coral stones from the beach--ionle in Rālik, iole in Radak. These serve as drainage and prevent the area around the house from becoming a morass during the rains. This permeable covering is renewed regularly by the women of the household. This was the typical household arrangement prior to the coming of the foreign regimes.

When the Germans and later the Japanese set up their capital at Jabwor in Jaluit Atoll, people from all over the Marshalls were attracted to the "Big City" for various reasons. Those who did not have land or relatives in the atoll were forced to live in large "guest houses" each of which accommodated as many as sixty people, i.e., Arno house, Wotje house, Namu, Ailiñlaplap, etc.--almost all the atolls. These were of wooden construction--ca. 40' x 60' in dimension. The traditional pattern of living was changed by this congregation of people from different atolls in large population centers.

Although the beehive metropolis of Jabwor was destroyed by American bombers, the "guest house"--communal quarters type of dwelling, was perpetuated on Majuro Atoll which became the new seat of government under the American regime. Here, two large former Japanese army barracks are used by the Arno Atoll people and the northern Radak people respectively. Another large house is known as the Mille house and used by the people from that atoll. Still another group composed of individuals of mixed Gilbertese-British-German-Marshallese ancestry, in varying combinations, occupy a group of houses known as the "Gilbertese Village".

The "villages" on Majuro and Kuajlen constructed by the Naval Administration for its employees represent another change in the traditional pattern of life. The household routine remains relatively unchanged in the new type surroundings except that living is done in closer proximity than before. Cook houses, bath houses, and benjo(s) are shared by all who live in the communal houses and "CivAd Villages".

The CivAd [Civil Administration] center of Majuro is atypical also in that a "squatters'" town has arisen on Jarej (Rita), one of the islands adjacent to the CivAd center. Many Marshallese, attracted to the administrative center by much the same motives that attracted people to Jabwor in the Japanese period, have occupied abandoned quonsets or have built houses of their own of salvage material. A small quasi-"shanty town" has arisen on the island, perpetuating the Japanese acculturative influence of Jabwor. Spoehr gives an excellent account of an acculturated Marshallese community in Majuro. (2).*

Aside from a few atypical communities, the pattern of land usage remains as it was before the advent of foreigners except, of course, that the large villages have added stores, council houses, dispensaries, and church buildings. The system of land tenure and usufruct has changed but slightly despite the acculturative forces of three different regimes.

LAND USE

Members and associated members of the bwij (lineage) work the land, clearing it of underbrush and performing other tasks necessary for the simple type of agriculture practiced in these low-lying coral atolls with their limited resources. In some instances people will be allowed to work land not belonging to their lineage and when lineage members do not require its use, i.e., when they have more than enough land for their own needs or want to help some less fortunate person.

The head of the lineage (alab) is in charge of the land and workers on the land, and a share of the food produced on the land as well as a share of the money received from copra sales is collected by him. The alab represents his or her lineage in their relations with other members of the society, the iroij, and, today, as a member of the atoll council, vis-a-vis the representatives of the American administration.

The iroij (paramount chief) also receives a percentage of the money received for each pound of copra produced on land in which his suzerainty is recognized.** This share varies, ranging from 1 1/2 mills in part of Ralik to 1 cent in the Radak chain depending upon the amount of copra potential of the atoll or island and the attitude of the people toward their iroij. "First fruits" and a share of the food taken from the land and sea are also presented to the iroij, formally and informally. In Radak where the position of iroij erik (little chief or king) still exists, the iroij elap gives that subordinate intermediary a regular percentage of the money he has received from the alab in return for services rendered as his representative over a certain area.

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* See Bibliography

** Except on Ujilañ Atoll, home of the displaced Enewetak people. The pattern is different here in that each of the two iroij lablab has an island and a wāto of his own which he works with the help of the kajur. He does not receive income from any other land. This same pattern was followed on Enewetak.

Here we have a system of land use roughly analogous to the feudal system of medieval Europe ... a stratification of individuals with reciprocal duties and obligations as well as privileges.

MECHANICS OF DIVISION OF COPRA SHARE

The cash crop, copra, is sold by the individual producers to the copra buyer on the atoll or island or more often to the local general store which is usually a cooperative enterprise owned by all or a large segment of the atoll population. After the iroij share (which varies) has been withheld by the alab, his share, usually 30% of the total cash, is retained and the remainder turned over to the dri jerbal ro (workers). The senior dri jerbal under the alab may keep all of the cash and give the other workers spending money, clothes, food, etc. whenever they need it, or he may distribute the cash on a per capita basis to those who have actually made the copra. The former is the general method of division of proceeds from copra sales.

Sometimes the alab may keep all of the proceeds less the iroij share and allow the workers to do the same thing with the next copra sale. The workers may also follow the same procedure rather than attempting to divide the money up regularly with the alab, this being especially advantageous when there are a large number of workers on a small piece of land.

Although there are some deviations from this pattern, the recognition of the interests of iroij and alab are manifested by the general adherence to the payment of the share.

DEVIATIONS FROM THE GENERAL PATTERN

The most notable exception to the general pattern of land tenure is the atoll of Likiep owned in fee simply by the descendants of two European adventurers who purchased the entire atoll from the iroij lablab of Northern Radak (JURTAKA) in 1877, with all rights and privileges appertaining thereto.

The land is worked by these "mixed-blood" descendants and a larger group composed of descendants of the original inhabitants of the atoll and others brought in from neighboring atolls. This latter group produced copra on a share-crop basis.

Relationships between the two groups have been strained for years, the "owners" complaining of absenteeism and non-production and the workers complaining of peonage and oppression. Investigations were made of this situation, and a working agreement was negotiated early last year. Conditions seem to have been ameliorated; however, as was anticipated, complete mutual satisfaction and accord do not prevail on Likiep today. This is a salient example of the problems created by the intrusion and implementation of foreign concepts of land tenure into an indigenous system.

Before the turn of this century, the twenty or more inhabitants of Ujilan Atoll were forced to leave their atoll forever to make room for a German copra plantation. They went to Jaluit and Enewetak; their descendants are dispersed throughout the Marshall Islands today.

Large scale alienation of land occurred again during the post-World War II period when the inhabitants of the atolls of Enewetak and Bikini were required to leave their atolls which became testing grounds for atomic warfare. The Enewetak people, transplanted to the uninhabited but much smaller atoll of Ujilañ, have been able to make a fairly successful adjustment to a less-favorable environment and have modified their traditional land tenure system in their new home. (See APPENDIX).

The Bikini people, on the other hand, have not been able to make a successful adjustment, due principally (in the opinion of this observer) to unfavorable ecological conditions. Kili, their new home, is a small island, limited in land area and lacking the natural resources afforded by a lagoon environment. Kili is isolated from the rest of the Marshalls many months of the year due to heavy surf, another factor for discontent.

The land tenure pattern on Kili differs markedly from that which prevailed on Bikini. A communal type of land tenure prevails in which the former iroij lablab (king) of Bikini is not recognized.

The traumatic exodus, the limited land area, the personalities of the iroij involved and his heir, ill-advised statements by outsiders, and erroneous press releases, were some of the factors responsible for discontent and change in the socio-economic pattern.

The general attitude of everyone concerned at this writing is one of insecurity and dissatisfaction. This unfortunate situation aside from its obvious aspect of a transplanted group in the throes of adjustment to a new environment is another excellent example of sudden change in a socio-economic system brought about primarily by external forces. For a detailed report on the removal of the Bikini people, see Mason, L., (1).

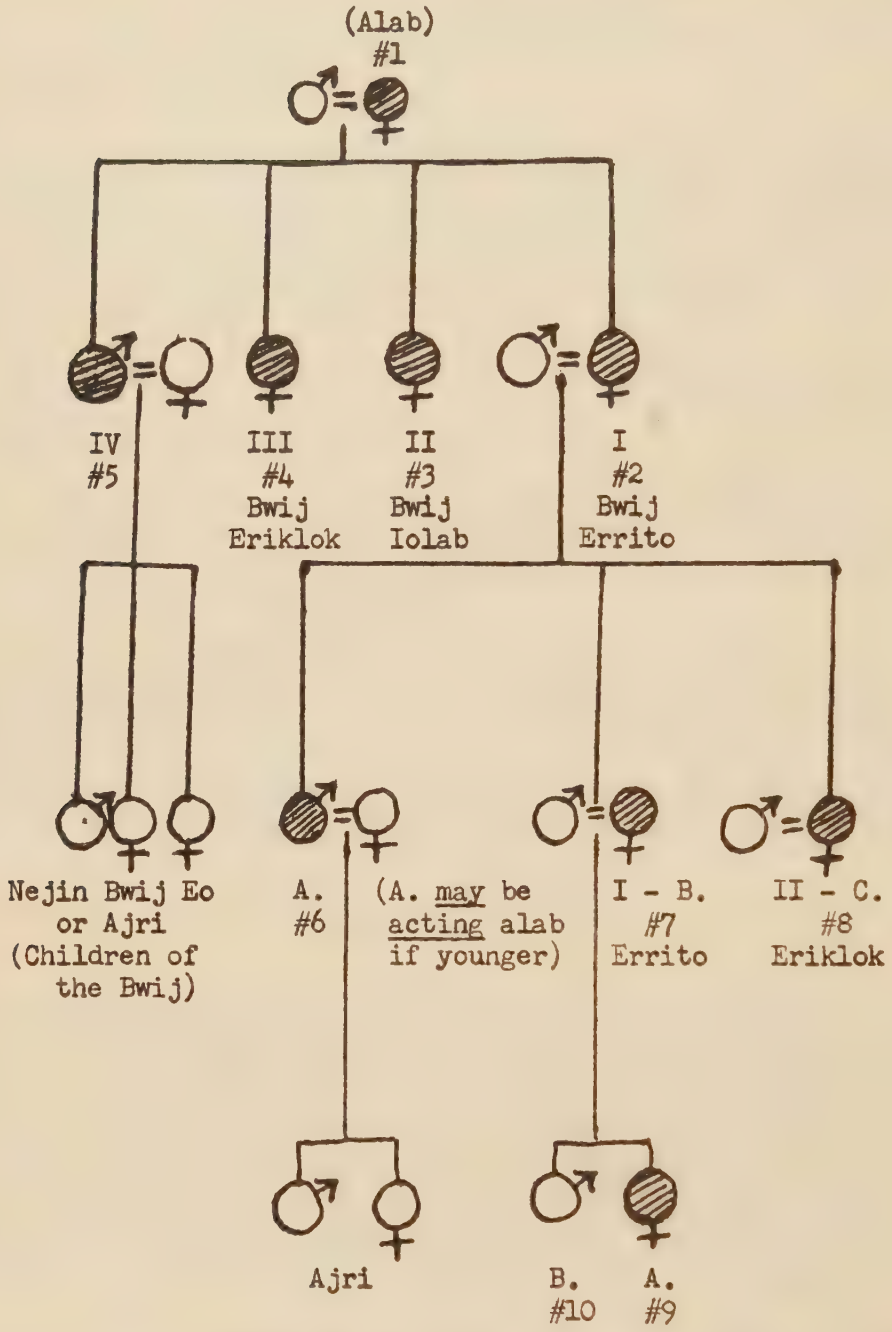
INHERITANCE PATTERN

The Marshallese system of inheritance of clan membership and of land rights (all of lāmoren-kabijukinen land and most types of burij in aje) is matrilineal. Lineage (bwij) members trace descent from a common ancestress (alab) for the purpose of claiming land rights. The original lineage normally has been split into associate lineages or bwij descended from sisters. These associate bwij are known as the older bwij--bwij errito or jiōb, middle bwij--bwij iolab (all intermediate bwij are known as bwij iolab no matter how many there are), and younger bwij--bwij eriklok, etc., according to the relative ages of the common ancestresses who belonged to the same clan (jowi).

Initially the senior sibling in the bwij--bwij eritto is alab or bwij leader followed by all of her surviving brothers and sisters in chronological order. After all of these siblings have been alab, the next generation, personified in the oldest child of the eldest female, becomes alab and is in turn succeeded by his or her siblings in chronological order. This pattern of succession continues in one maternal line of descent until the line becomes extinct; in this case, the next associate bwij in order of seniority will inherit the "alabship" and rights in a particular piece of land or lands. Every Marshallese is, as may be seen, a potential alab.

THE IDEAL INHERITANCE PATTERN OF LAND RIGHTS

BWIJ EO (THE LINEAGE)



II, III - Lineages will inherit land rights in succession - "in toto" if the "bwij" senior to them becomes extinct - "bwij eo elot".

-- Cross hatch -- maternal line of descent of a lineage.

Figure 2.

Although theoretically, relative age is the determining factor in succession to the position of leadership, actually a younger brother will assume all of the duties and responsibilities of the position from an older sister who by virtue of seniority is alab. He will become alab "de facto" but she will remain alab "de jure" and will be respected and deferred to as alab. Her brother will bring her the alab'(s) share of the produce of the land but will relieve her of all of the burdensome duties connected with the position, e.g., iroij Kabua Kabua of Rālik has three older sisters, but he assumed the alab position because he is a man. After he dies, his older sister remaining will assume the position of alab, followed by her eldest child, in the pattern previously described.

Males assume this trusteeship position; are alab first unless the women are very strong or have no male relatives to take over for them. If the male who inherits the alab position is too old, feeble, or otherwise incompetent, the next in line of succession will assume the responsibilities of the alab; will be in effect, the representative or regent for the alab. The alab will be recognized and honored as such by his own people, however, if the whole bwij (maternal lineage) becomes extinct (bwij elot) which has happened, e.g., Ralik iroij, the alab or iroij positions may be inherited patrilineally for the one generation, from fathers to sons and daughters in chronological order as described previously, after which they pass in matrilineal line of succession. This is the ideal pattern of inheritance and is recognized as the mantin ailiñ kein (the Marshallese custom) and is followed in the main. However, as in other cultures, the custom is sometimes honored in the breach. Deviation from the accepted custom is the basis of disputes, several of which are burning issues on various atolls today.

PATRILINEAL USUFRUCT RIGHTS

Although land rights, with very few exceptions are inherited through the maternal lineage, individuals are not excluded from usufruct rights in their paternal lineage land. Even though an individual may never become leader alab on his father's lineage land (unless the entire paternal bwij and all associated bwij become extinct), he does have the right to live and work on his father's land. These use rights are inherited patrilineally by succeeding generations, each of which has a descriptive name. (The same terminology is used for titles of individuals of iroij descent to indicate the amount of royal "blood" possessed by the individual title holder.)

1st generation	of	ajri	(children)	of	the	paternal	bwij-bwirak
2nd generation	"	"	"	"	"	"	lajibjib
3rd generation	"	"	"	"	"	"	jibtok
4th generation	"	"	"	"	"	"	jiblok
5th generation	"	"	"	"	"	"	jibbotto
6th generation	"	"	"	"	"	"	jibbinaretto
7th generation	"	"	"	"	"	"	tibjer

The ajri are allowed to live on and use their paternal land if they are cooperative and do their share of the work. Shirkers and trouble makers and those who do not give the alab his copra share or refuse to make ekkan, etc., may be removed by the alab of the particular land involved, however. These rights may be extended to include the seventh generation, tibjer, but are usually taken advantage of only as far as the fifth generation; the ajri rights become weaker with each succeeding generation and are absolutely concluded with

the seventh generation, tibjer , which translated means "depart from glory".

Individuals usually forego their usufruct rights on the paternal land before many generations have passed. They are usually satisfied with the use of their maternal bwij lands and their spouse's lineage lands.

This system operates to equalize land rights, prevent over-crowding and serves primarily to strengthen the in-group feeling among relatives.

ADOPTIVE RIGHTS

Adoption of children or kōkajiriri (v. and n.),(rough translation: "look out for the child") has always been a common practice in the Marshalls. Adoption here, however, does not mean alienation of the child from his biological parents as it usually does in our culture. The Marshallese child becomes a part of another extended family group but also retains his ties, emotional and otherwise, with the biological parents and other bwij relatives. The child may reside with either the foster or biological parents, or with both at different periods, as is usually the case. This pattern of extended relationships obviously makes for a greater degree of emotional security as far as the adopted child is concerned.

An adopted child, kōkajiriri, is also described as kanni lujien (rough translation: "stomach food"), i.e., the child will be eating the same food as his foster father and from the same land; i.e., he is intimately connected with his foster father.

Adopted children are allowed the right to work on and enjoy the benefits derived from the land with the permission of the alab and the bwij.

Kōkajariri may remain on the land after the foster parent dies. The children of the kōkajariri also have rights in the land which become progressively weaker with ensuing generations. These rights must also be confirmed by the alab.

The adopted child possesses much the same rights as the biological children except that he may only become alab of land of the bwij into which he has been adopted upon the extinction of all bwij relatives. A case is now pending on Majuro in which an adopted son of an alab now deceased, the last of her bwij (bwij eo elot), claims to be alab of his foster mother's bwij lands. His claim has been contested by other relatives of the deceased alab.

In addition to the rights acquired by adoption, the kōkajariri also retains his birthright in his bwij land. The adopted child is also under obligation to his foster parents and regards them as jemma (father) or jinō (mother) as the case may be, giving them the same respect and loving care in their old age that is owed and given the biological parents, e.g., "A" was adopted by "B" and his wife when he was a small child, in 1899. The biological father and mother of "A" went to another island in 1904 and remained there for eight months; during this time "B" cared for his adopted son. The father of "A" built a house nearby his own home for "A" and his foster parents with whom the latter lived most of the time even after his father and mother returned from their trip. He was not alienated from them or any other of his biological relatives, however, but retained a close relationship with them.

In the ensuing decades, "A" and "B" maintained a close father and son relationship. "A" recently brought his now aged foster father to live with him on Majuro and has assumed the responsibilities for his care although "B" has four grown children of his own. This one example shows the differences in Marshallese and Western concepts of adoption.

Individuals who possess the inherited rights in their bwij land have unquestioned usufruct rights and may even become alab. Ajiri or those who possess paternal rights are considered to have less right in the land. Kōkajariri, adopted children, are considered to have fewer rights than the members of the bwij or the ajiri.

USUFRUCT RIGHTS ACQUIRED BY MARRIAGE

Residence after marriage is neither strictly patrilocal or matrilocal, nor is there a regular periodic bi-local residence pattern as in parts of Melanesia. A man may live and work on the bwij land of his spouse or vice versa. Matrilocal residence, however, is considered more desirable in view of the fact that the interests of the offspring are bound closer to the maternal bwij land, where someday they may become alab and where they possess "real" dri jerbal rights.

Marshallese have been marrying into other atoll groups for centuries. This process has become progressively accelerated with improved transportation and communication. Opportunities for marriage outside of the home atoll have increased tremendously and today many Marshallese possess land rights in widely separated areas throughout the Marshalls. This, of course, has done a great deal to break down atoll ethnocentrism.

If a married couple should reside on the wife's bwij land and the wife should pre-decease her husband, the husband has the right to remain on the land providing there are children; in that case, the widower may not be evicted even if the alab should so desire. The offspring (who have a vested interest in their bwij land) look out for their father's welfare and help him to remain on the land.

If there are no offspring, the widower does not have a real claim and the alab may evict him or allow him to remain at his discretion. The latter course is usually followed unless the widower is a trouble maker or shirks his responsibilities. Informants have never heard of a widower or widow being evicted from their deceased spouses' bwij land. In most cases, the in-laws want them to remain. If a widower should remarry to someone outside his deceased wife's bwij, they both may remain on the land, at the discretion of the alab, but this is not usually done.

WILLS-- KALLIMUR (WILL OR PROMISE)

In pre-contact times the iroij would, if they felt that their demise was imminent, call their people together and name their successor, normally following the accepted custom of inheritance.

The German government started to register wills and the Japanese government insisted that everyone, iroij and kajur alike, should make a properly registered and documented will. This edict was complied with in the main during the Japanese occupation but fell into abeyance after the Japanese were expelled from the Marshalls. Since that time only a few individuals, mostly iroij, have executed written wills.

RENTALS

The concept of rental of land or houses was non-existent aboriginally. This concept was introduced by foreigners who wished to acquire sites for their commercial ventures, and who did so.

Transactions of this type involving Marshallese alone have been very rare. In fact, only one such case is operative today. This case occurred very recently and has political motivations rather than a mere desire for monetary gain.

The land involved had been rented previously to a Japanese entrepreneur. Interestingly enough in the recent dispute, the alab involved, in pressing her claim for rent, made the distinction between land used for business purposes (bakery and store) and that part of her land being used for dwelling purposes. Rentals were demanded for land falling in the former category only.

An individual who has obtained the alab'(s) permission to erect a house, etc., not on his own bwij land may from time to time voluntarily bring food to the alab of that land. However, the concept of rent "per se", is not implied.*

ENCLAVES

TREES (kān)

Individual trees may be given to a person outside of the bwij by the alab. Nearly every wāto on Majuro has trees (coconut mostly) that have been set aside for Protestant Church use. There are also many gifts of this kind on Arno and Ebon and other, but not all, of the atolls. Many of the government schools have received trees also. Trees are called ni kān (coconut tree) or mā kān (breadfruit tree), etc., depending on the type of tree. The affix kān means tree or stump.

Only the recipient may use the produce of the tree involved. He may give the alab or others permission to use the tree in his absence, however. A gift of this sort may revert to the donor upon the demise of the recipient, (it is considered a transaction between two individuals) or the recipient may be allowed to retain the kān at the discretion of the alab.

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* See ADDENDUM

TARO PATCHES (sing. bwil; pl. bwil ko)

A bwil or taro patch within a wāto may be given to individuals outside of the bwij or it may be retained within the bwij, at the discretion of the alab. An example of the different categories of bwil which may be found on one wāto may be seen on Eram wāto on Ebon Atoll, one of the southern Marshalls, where the largest amount of taro is to be found. Viz: 1. One bwil is assigned as iroij bwil (bwil an iroij). It is tended and cleared by the dri jerbal but is not harvested except when the bwij makes special ekkan (ar makie)-"our (bwij) alone", to the iroij. The bwil produce is not used for any other purpose, and bwil an iroij are inherited by the heir of the iroij.

2. One bwil assigned to "A" who is a kōkajariri (adopted child); she tends the taro patch and harvests the taro for the use of herself and family. The alab will not touch this taro patch; if he should do so (cultivate it, etc.), it would imply that he wished to evict the person to whom it had been assigned. (This is also true of land in general). A new alab will subtly signify his approval of previous assignments to bwil and will ratify same by saying to the incumbent: "I would like a basket of taro from your bwil."

3. Another bwil was assigned to "B" and his brothers. Before the turn of the century, "B" had been born into a lineage holding Eram wāto. At that time, male and female twins were considered as being incestuous, having spent the prenatal period in juxtaposition--within their mother's womb. "B" was, unfortunately, one of these. According to custom, his twin sister was allowed to live ("to become alab") and "B" was buried alive. He was exhumed immediately, however, by a pitying neighbor who reared him as her kōkajiriri (adopted child). When "B" had grown to young manhood, "C", his female cousin, invited him back to the bwij lands. She had attended the Protestant Mission School on Kusaie and disapproved of the rejection of "B" by their lineage. "C" was the senior female in her lineage and next in line to be alab, consequently very powerful and much respected. "C" allocated a bwil and the dri jerbal rights in two of their bwij wāto(s)to "B". Although "B" could never become alab because of the "incestuous" circumstances of his birth, he was tacitly accepted within his bwij by the other bwij members. When "B" died, his bwil was inherited by his son who holds the use rights to it today.

4. There are six other bwil or Eram wāto, the taro of which is used by the dri jerbal of the wāto. An alab may reserve all of the bwil for himself to be used for ekkan. In this case the dri jerbal will not use the produce from the taro patch unless the alab gives them explicit permission. This is not the case on Eram wāto, however; the alab allows the dri jerbal free access to the bwil which was not true of some of his predecessors.

5. Another type of bwil is that which is exchanged for another bwil or a good breadfruit tree (mā kān). This is usually done to cement ties of friendship and marriage, e.g., about thirty years ago a bwil on Eram was given to "C", a man who had married into the bwij, in exchange for a breadfruit tree located on "C"'s bwij land. The taro from this particular bwil was considered to be the property of this individual and respected as such. Conversely, the fruit from the particular breadfruit tree was considered to be the exclusive property of the alab and people of Eram.

About nine years ago, "C" commenced "stealing" the breadfruit from the tree and later signified his desire to regain his former property by climbing the tree and openly stripping it of its fruit. This angered the people of Eram,

who felt that "C" had broken tradition and affronted them by taking breadfruit from the tree while continuing to use the bwil and then seeking the return of the tree (which was a very good one).

6. Temporary usufruct rights: a section of a taro patch may be allocated as a source of food for people who are visiting an island for a short while (this is not an outright gift), e.g., Namrik Atoll people visiting their children who were attending the Japanese Government School at Ebon were afforded this privilege.

7. Gift, as kitre to one's wife: taro patches may be given by a man to his wife as kitre. There are some instances of this on Ebon, Likiep, and Mejij, etc. Permission of the alab and bwij must be obtained before a bwil may be given as kitre. Failure to do this may cause serious disputes, e.g., on Mejij, an iroij who had worked a taro patch without any assistance from his relatives gave the bwil to his wife as kitre three years before he died. This was done without consulting his bwij. After he died, his bwij contested this gift. The dispute was finally settled amicably a few months ago. The bwij agreed to allow the childless widow to use the bwil until she dies, at which time it will revert to the bwij. The bwij may allow the decendants of a woman who received kitre to retain possession of the taro patch involved. Non-Mejij Marshallese who heard of this case stated that the woman's bwij is entitled to possession of this bwil according to custom.

REEF RIGHTS

Throughout the Marshalls the reefs were claimed by the iroij as emo or personal property if the fishing was good around them. The iroij would declare: "Wur in buruan." (My own reef) or else "Wur in iroij" (reef of the iroij). After this tabu was instituted, no one else was permitted to fish that particular reef on penalty of death or expulsion from his land. In 1934 the Japanese authorities "broke the tabu" by declaring the reefs open to everyone. From then on everyone who so desired has utilized these once forbidden fishing grounds.

These reef areas were usually near the entrance to the lagoon where fish are especially plentiful, e.g., within Arno Atoll about one half mile from the shore of Malel Island lies a reef called "Moen". This reef is the habitat of many tuna and other fish which feed around it. The tabu described previously applied here also. The reef fishing on Ebon is very good, several isolated reefs are the habitat of a large fish "ellok", whose flesh is considered particularly good. There were five wur in iroij here: Tokāinbarao, Wodrenlap--(translation: big reef), Tokimkil, Buruan Lewoj--(translation: Lewoj, an old Ebon iroij, wants the reef), and Naminaujedr.

These choice fishing spots were reserved for the iroij lablab alone as previously described. Other people were afraid to disobey the tabu until it was lifted by governmental edict. Small islands were also occasionally tabooed, e.g., Kaben, a small island with a few trees on it on Wotto Atoll, was taken by the iroij for his personal use because of the abundance of coconut crabs on it.

On Likiep Atoll a stretch of beach on the main island extending from the site of the Catholic Mission to the Northern tip of the island, a distance of about 2000 meters, was forbidden territory. It was emo to fish within thirty

yards of the shore along this area, which is the habitat of large schools of tou (mackerel). The "owners" of Likiep considered themselves as iroij and instituted this prohibition in German times. Here again the tabu is not enforced today. Emo (forbidden) fishing sites were in existence on every atoll.

FISHING RIGHTS

According to custom, the property rights extended out to the area where people stood, usually waist deep, in order to fish with a pole. Momo and rijo were the fish commonly sought. These rights belonged exclusively to the lineage, bwij, whose land holding, wāto, bordered the marine area.

This custom continued until 1934 when the Japanese authorities declared that all marine areas, up to the high water mark, belonged to the Japanese government. Marshallese informants believe that this change was made in order to allow the Japanese to claim logs, barrels, lumber, and other items of flotsam and jetsam. These objects were highly prized in this area where heavy timber was scarce and especially so in pre-contact days when metal was only obtainable from the above mentioned sources.

The iroij lablab of the particular area into which these materials drifted claimed exclusive rights to them. The loss of royal prerogatives and attendant revenue was, of course, resented by the iroij, who were powerless to prevent it, however. This break with tradition has continued under the American trusteeship and is apparently accepted by everyone today.

GAME RESERVES--"BIRD ISLANDS"

The Northern Radak atolls of Bikar, Bokak (Taongi), Tōke, the island of Jemo, and the islands of Erik and Luij in Erikub Atoll have been used from time immemorial as game reserves. These areas are the habitat of myriads of sea turtles and nesting fowl. Periodically, turtles and turtle eggs, birds and their eggs were taken, as described later (see emo).

Due to the scarcity of water supply, these islands have never been regularly inhabited. The Germans used this fact to justify the seizure of the atolls of Bikar and Bokak as government property. The Japanese took them over with all the other German government properties. They were not exploited by either foreign power, however, and the Marshallese from Northern Radak have continued to utilize their resources.

Lanmoj, the iroij lablab of northern Radak, whose ancestors owned the two atolls, claims personal title to Bikar and Bokak as mo land and has stated that the German claims were invalid. This writer agrees with the Marshallese position that land used as a source of food supply, etc., should not be alienated from its owners merely because it is not regularly inhabited and cultivated.

It is recommended that the United States Government withdraw all claims to Bikar and Bokak in favor of the Marshallese who feel that they have never legally lost their rights in them.

INDIGENOUS ATTITUDES TOWARD THE LAND

Land is considered to be the most valuable asset to the Marshallese who are so dependent upon it for their day-to-day existence. Land disputes have been and still are the cause of almost all family schisms. People are always plotting to obtain more land, by marriage today and by warfare, marriage, and black magic in the past.

Black magic, ekabel, was sometimes used to kill off the older members of the lineage, particularly in the case of the iroij bwij: "Rubrub ñon ro nejin" (destroying the obstacle to her children), i.e., removing the obstacle (person) to her children's succession to land rights. A non-relative is always asked to make the magic. It is believed that the illness or death sought for the enemy will "boomerang" and also afflict the person who performs the magical rites if he or she is related to the proposed victim of black magic. According to informants, ekabel, is sometimes performed today.

Land is regarded as sacred "something to fight for and die for" and has been, as far as may be ascertained, sold or given away to outsiders only because of fear of either physical or moral force. A salient example of this attitude was observed recently at Majuro. A rumor had been circulated to the effect that the United States Government was planning to reimburse the owners of the land upon which the administration functions are located by giving them pieces of former German-Japanese government lands located in Majuro and nearby atolls. This rumor created a tremendous amount of anxiety, insecurity, and distrust on the part of the individuals concerned. This writer was deluged with queries as to the validity of the rumor. The concensus of opinion of the Marshallese involved was: "We will never willingly accept any other land in exchange for our lineage lands."

They will not willingly accept complete alienation of their land. The individual Marshallese is fully aware of the particular categories into which his lineage lands fall and what rights he possesses in them. Genealogies, both royal and commoner, are traced back in some cases ten or more generations and many of them have been written down, are carefully preserved by their owners, and used as evidence to support claims in land disputes.

The younger generation of Marshallese, however, those under thirty or so years of age, as a whole are not fully cognizant of the less basic concepts and customs of land tenure.

CONCEPTS OF LAND OWNERSHIP

In the pre-contact period, the iroij lablab (the senior ranking member of the senior lineage of the ruling clan (jowi) was the acknowledged owner of all the land and moveable property in his realm in a socio-economic system roughly analogous to the feudal system of medieval Western Europe or closer at hand, to the social system of pre-contact Polynesian cultures with the reciprocal rights and obligations of all classes within the framework of the society. The subjects of the iroij could not be evicted from the land without good reason, however, (mainly for offenses against the iroij himself), and their rights were as a rule, respected by the iroij. The more commoners (kajur) an iroij had in his

realm, the more power he possessed--a large reservoir of human beings to draw upon for labor and warfare. (The word kajur itself means power). It was therefore manifestly incumbent upon the iroij to treat his subjects with consideration and retain their loyalties.

A regular channeled tribute system, ekkan, was adhered to by the subjects of the iroij. In the latter part of the nineteenth century with the development of copra as the cash crop, the share of the iroij and the people who produced the copra was established. (See LAND USE)

The concept of iroij ownership of the land apparently continued and was unquestioned until Japanese times, prior to World War II. At that time the Japanese introduced the concept that the iroij owned the land and the kajur owned the trees growing upon the land. This was probably done to facilitate acquisition of the land needed for military bases and installations.

Some informants believe that the new concept was a result of Japanese misunderstanding and jumping at conclusions. It is alleged that when the Japanese officials queried as to who planted the trees, the Marshallese replied: "The kajur did." The Japanese then supposedly assumed that the trees were the property of the kajur who had planted them. As a corollary, we may logically assume that the iroij upon being questioned, informed the Japanese that the land belonged to the iroij, as per custom.

This foreign concept of separate ownership title to the land and of all of the trees growing upon the land was implimented by the Japanese officials who paid some of the iroij and alab(s) involved for land and trees respectively. The foreign concept of division of ownership plus the fact that the foreigners beginning with the Germans had supplanted the iroij as the supreme authorities were undoubtedly contributing factors to the gradual shift of orientation which has continued to the present time and which was accelerated by the social disruption attendant upon World War II and the American invasion and occupation of the Marshalls. The concepts of "liberty", "freedom", and "democracy" were freely disseminated by the new rulers without, it is believed, adequate definition or explanation. This further contributed to change in attitude in regard to socio-economic concepts on the part of a segment of the population especially, as might have been expected, on the younger element who were in closest contact with the Americans.

The general attitude today in regard land rights (as far as this writer has been able to determine) is one of joint ownership of land rights with the iroij possessing certain rights and the kajur possessing other rights in the land, holding these rights as a member of a lineage (bwij) in common with the other bwij members.

The general concensus of opinion seems to be that the Japanese concept was an artificial one and that the trees cannot be separated from the land. The concept of joint ownership of land rights is stronger in Rālik than in the Radak Chain, probably because the true iroij have become extinct with a few exceptions in Rālik while the true iroij still flourish throughout the Radak Chain.

The prevailing opinion was exemplified by the actions of the last "Marshallese Congress", where representatives of the mass of the population,

the "House of Assembly", met with the iroij, "House of Iroij". At that time, this matter was debated at length. The iroij declared that they owned all of the land and were upheld by a small percentage of the older kajur. However, the majority, young and old, disagreed, stating that the land is owned by everyone.

A small anti-iroij sentiment exists today, largely composed of younger men most of whom have been closely associated with Japanese and Americans. These individuals (none of whom are organized as a group) are anti-iroij only in the sense that they are opposed to deferring to certain individual iroij. They are not against the institution of iroij per se. In fact, the desire to retain the economic prerogatives of the iroij for themselves is the principal motivation for their deviation from the norm.

At the other end of the pole are, of course, the iroij and their adherents, most of whom are the older and more conservative element. It is anticipated that the iroij position, "where disputed", will become correspondingly weaker as this older and more conservative element dies out.

It is hoped that the administration will continue the "laissez faire" policy insofar as possible in regard to the land rights situation. Any disagreements may be brought before the District Court if the disputants themselves fail to reach an amicable agreement. (This is the current available mechanism for settlement of land disputes of which there are many.) However, at this writing, only one case involving land rights has been brought before the District Court. Apparently the Marshallese are wary of legal processes that are outside of the local culture pattern and are reluctant to bring the highly important problem of land rights before an outsider. This writer has personal knowledge of many instances where land disputes have been channeled through to the traditional authorities rather than through the alien American mechanism for handling these problems.

The administration should not support one group or the other involved in land disputes; but should remain neutral offering advice to all sides if requested. This obviously requires a great deal of "tight wire walking", so to speak, but it is absolutely necessary if the governing authorities are to have the confidence of everyone and accomplish their mission. The Marshallese are watching every move that the Administration makes regarding land matters. Any ill-advised move by the administration might very well upset the present balance, causing any of those who may be uncertain and wavering in their attitudes to follow the administration's lead. It is, therefore, obviously necessary for the administration to treat all situations involving land rights with the utmost discretion. These problems should be worked out by the Marshallese people themselves with the minimum of American interference and that only when absolutely necessary.

CATEGORIES OF LAND

Land is divided into three general categories:

A. Lāmoren or Kabijukinen (rough translation: old "family land").

B. Ninnin (literally: "nurse from the breast")--land allocated by a parent to offspring.

C. Imonaje (burij in aje)--(Literally: "divided land").

The terms lāmoren and kabijukinen are applied to the same type of land, the ancestral land holdings of the maternal bwij; however, there is a shade of difference of meaning in the two terms. Lāmoren (literally: "old stone", from the lā--"beach stones", pebbles,, placed around the home site, inside and out) refers to the ancestral land (earth) itself, while kabijukinen or birbir (foundation) as it is sometimes called, has a poetic connotation of deep affection and sentiment and is used in much the same way on a larger scale, as the Japanese sometimes describe their homeland by the word "Yamato" rather than the more commonly used "nippon" or as the Irish refer to "the ould sod", the Russians to "Mother Russia", etc. The majority of land holdings in the Marshall Islands belong to this category.

Burij in aje (imon aje) is the descriptive term for land that was given by the iroij for outstanding services in war and peace time. Many types of land are included in this general category each with its own descriptive name.

With the end of local warfare (during the German period) gifts of land resulting from warfare, i.e., marujinkot, waenbwe, etc., ceased. Other burij in aje such as rewards for magic, medicine, and navigation, etc., are made very rarely today. Ninnin (land given by a parent to an offspring) is still made occasionally today, however.

BURIJ IN AJE - IMONAJE - DIVIDED LAND

Imonaje (Rālik and Radak) is land given to a person who helps the iroij by nursing, bringing food, etc., makes medicine, etc. The iroij may give food, mats, rope, etc., instead of land. This is known as mweien kalotlot (goods for nursing) or mweien tiriamo (goods of sorrow) and is given by the iroij only, to anyone. The iroij may make imonaje to a kajur, either alab or dri jerbal; no one else may do so.

In the old days two men remained with the wife of the iroij at all times in the capacity of watchmen or body guards. One remained outside at all times--escorted the iroij's wife, brought food to her, etc. This functionary was called dri jutak loto (translation: "man who stands by the iroij's room). These men received imonaje land for their services. They were related to the iroij on the father's side; they were last in succession and least likely to try to kill the iroij to gain his position; therefore, the most trustworthy.

An informant acted as dri jutak loto for the late iroij lablab Murjil of northern Radak ca. 1916 to 1919. He is a cousin to the said Murjil on the paternal side. His food was given to him by the iroij. He carried a knife with him at all times but was never forced to use it. Informant stated that he had to stay awake on guard against possible attack many nights because of trouble between two iroij--Murjil and Tonuia, iroij of Airōk (Maloelap). This trouble lasted for about one year.

The person nursing the iroij as a baby is known as the dri-jutak lomalal; this person belongs to an iroij bwij, one of whose members has the honor of being the dri-jutak lomalal. The dri-jutak loto position goes to a brother or son like regular paternal inheritance, in order of seniority. The iroij always

chooses the woman he wants as wet nurse for his children from his bwij or that of his father, whether iroij or not.

Land was always given for these services; informant received land for his services. He became alab and receives the iroij erik share now but is not a real iroij erik, and he is not called by that title. There are no positions or title of this kind now, dri-jutak, etc. After iroij Murjil died (during the middle phase of the German occupation), these positions became extinct.

The offices were continued during the life time of the incumbents, from youth until their health failed and they were unable to discharge the duties of their positions. At that time, the iroij instructed the outgoing dri-jutak loto or dri-jutak lomalal to name the successor--someone he trusted in his bwij or on his paternal side as the case might have been.

Burij in aje is also used to describe land given by the iroij to refugees from an area devastated by typhoon, drought, tidal wave, etc. The iroij or leroij might allocate land to their respective spouses as burij in aje.

Inheritance Pattern:

The recipient of burij in aje, imon aje may either assign it to his bwij or to his children, as he so desires. In the latter case, all of the children will share in the use rights of the said land. The eldest of the children will become alab as per the customary matrilineal inheritance pattern.

The decision as to future disposal of the land may then be made by the alab in the succeeding generations. The land may be retained within the bwij or divided again between the siblings. It is alleged that in most cases, the land is retained within the bwij. Siblings usually cooperate with each other in this matter "because they all shared the same breast".

Jikin Kolotlot--Imon Kolotlot--Jemlok (The Ending) is land given for nursing or caring for iroij or alab when ill. Given on death bed usually or prior to death when person is becoming old. Gift must be approved by the iroij elap. The recipient may be a medicine man (dri uno) who nursed the donor of the land, e.g., when iroij Tōbo was ill on Arno in 1950, many people gathered about him, as is the custom; some of them brought food to him, carried him to the outhouse, bathed him, etc. His dri uno remained near him at all times during his long illness. This functions as a sort of "sick care insurance". Land of this type is passed down through the bwij. During the German period, Kwier Island on Kwajalein Atoll was allocated to Leanmo as jikin kolotlot by iroij Jeimata and his half-sister, Libetok, upon the death of the former iroij lablab Leit. (See NOTE).

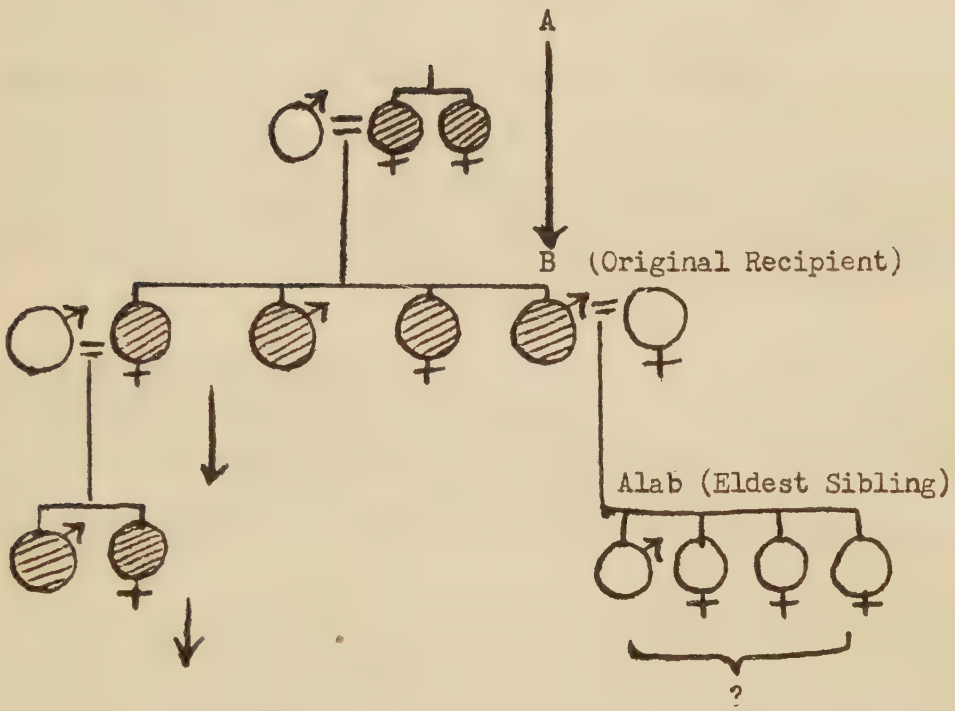
NOTE:

1. Men in kolotlot is personal property; clothing, fish hooks, money, etc., not belonging to all share holders of the land. The money, etc., is given to the eldest child to divide among the siblings. Adopted children are not included. Money may not be given to an outsider "because this creates disputes" as informants have explained. A man may leave a house, cistern, etc., to his

(NOTE continued on p. 18)

"IMON AJE", "BURIJ IN AJE"

"IROIJ LABLAB"



I
Bwij of B

II
Children of B

"IMON AJE", "BURIJ IN AJE" (divided land) may be allocated to either "bwij" (I) or children (II).

Figure 3.

Imon Ato (Rālik), Montutu (Radak) (come ashore to get land)--land, not an island, given to a person who adopts, nurses, guards, and cares for the child of an iroij, gives him special anointment (kokabit) with coconut oil, etc. The guardian (kwor) may be either a man or a woman and his or her bwij become kwor also. Any member of this bwij may correct the child of the iroij when he misbehaves, by beating him and pulling his hair (usually very tabu) and may stop him from fighting; i.e., they are in the position of parents to the child of the iroij, whom their bwij member has nursed. The iroij provides food for the child and the guardian. When the child has grown up, his iroij father gives the land to the guardian (kwor). Someone other than the wife of the iroij nursed the children of the iroij. People vied for this respected and lucrative position.

Enen Tutu--an island given for the above services.

The person who receives this type of land may allocate a portion of it to his children who will have dri jerbal rights only and may not become alab unless their father's bwij becomes extinct. These dri jerbal (worker) rights are inherited by their children, but the land (enen tutu and montutu) as a whole belongs to the bwij of the original recipient and is passed on through this bwij.

Jikin In Kokabit--land used as a special place in which to give magical medical treatment. It is forbidden land (emo), a restricted area. The bwirak (noble) children of the iroij use the area, not the iroij. This is one of the devices used to enhance the prestige of the bwirak; as an informant explained:

Everyone knows who the iroij is; he does not need as much mo as his bwirak offspring."

The jikin in kokabit is usually a small island, but it may be a small piece of land. In either case, the land area is not large enough to till. This land may belong to any individual but may not be used or even walked on by the "owner". The purpose of these tabus is to prevent people from seeing the magical treatment.

The bwirak were annointed to make them strong and attractive and brave in war. Sexual intercourse was forbidden--sometimes for as long as six months following the treatment. If the treatment did not prove fruitful, people

(NOTE continued from p. 17)

son if he has built it himself. It will be very difficult to do this, however, if his brother, uncle, or other bwij members helped him to construct same.

2. Incorporeal property such as knowledge of magic, medicine, navigation, etc., is traditionally guarded jealously and transmitted within the iroij group or to individuals whom the iroij may designate. Possession of this secret knowledge has served to enhance the iroij position, adding to their prestige and bolstering their position as leaders of the society. This was especially true in the pre-contact period and immediately following, before an education (reading, writing, etc.) became available to all.

would say, "He spoiled his kabten"(head anointment), i.e., he had indulged in the forbidden sexual intercourse. These sites are still tabu although it is not certain whether or not the magical medical rites are still practiced. It is said they were up to the end of the Japanese regime.

Wuliej Lap (big grave)--the plot of land in which the iroij are buried. This area is forbidden (emo) to anyone not of the iroij ancestry, with the exception of the guardian bwij, kwor. It is believed that supernatural sanctions will automatically operate against those who violate the tabu.

This writer recently visited the wuliej lap on Mejruirōk Island, Jaluit Atoll in which lie the remains of Litokwa, Lajutok, and other Rālik iroij. Two Marshallese youths, one a member of the field party and native of another atoll (Kwajaleim) and the other a local resident, refused to get within 150 feet of the small plot of ground in which the iroij are buried. The grandson of Litokwa, however, visited the graves with complete unconcern, explaining that he had the right to do so.

Ninnin (v. and n.)--land given by a father to his children; it belongs to the bwij. A man's daughter and son will only have dri jerbal (worker) rights. The bwij may not take these rights away from them.

The senior bwij member is always the alab. If the alab should try to take away the land right, the iroij will intervene and prevent it. The dri jerbal rights are passed down from parents to children from then on, but alab rights go down through the bwij. Alab and iroij may allocate this land, not dri jerbal. A dri jerbal may never allocate alab rights to another kajur. He may, however, allocate dri jerbal rights to his children--real or adopted. He may ninnin only if the bwij agrees. The alab himself may not assign bwij land away unless permission is granted by the bwij.

The alab has authority over division of food and work assignment, etc., but on land division matters, he must consult with his iroij and his bwij. He cannot do anything on his own accord in land division matters. This is true today and was true in the past, i.e., the alab is not the final authority or autocratic leader. He must consult with his lineage on these important matters. He does not have the exclusive rights in the land, e.g., an alab on an atoll in Northern Radak recently expressed the desire to evict the children of his mother's younger sister from the bwij land because they had been "too haughty", refused to bring him food (ekkan), etc. He complained to his iroij who told him that if he evicted the cousins from the land, he would be violating the custom (manit eo). The dispute was then settled amicably.

If the bwij does not concur with the desire of the alab or dri jerbal to ninnin to his children, the children may remain on the land as ajri in bwij. They will work for the alab's successor and have practically the same rights as the dri-in-bwij (people with matrilineal dri jerbal rights). The difference lies in the inability of the ajri to become alab (unless the entire bwij and associate bwij become extinct). Everyone must have the alab's permission to cut trees, build houses, etc.

After the recipient of ninnin dies, his or her children may be allowed to remain at the discretion of the bwij, i.e., the iroij or alab gives ninnin to one generation only, his son or daughter.

A lesser chief, iroij erik, may make ninnin to his kajur (commoner) son but he cannot leave him all his iroij erik rights and title. These must go to someone of iroij blood. If the iroij erik has no relatives left, the kajur child may take the iroij erik rights but not the title. "He is not a 'real' iroij erik." Cases were cited by informants where iroij erik have given a kajur child part of their lands as ninnin but not the iroij erik rights. The ninnin goes down through the children and their children.

The iroij lablab may make ninnin of special land parcels (wāto) to his children, but the bwij members are not excluded. Ninnin as may be seen is a mechanism by which a father in this matrilineal society may provide for his children. One informant stated, "Everyone likes to make ninnin because they help out their children and everyone likes to receive ninnin because they get more land."

This method of land division often creates problems; on Mejij, for example, it has been cause of disputes since German times. Some of the people who had received ajri rights refused to pay tribute or ekkan of produce from the land to their alab(s) on the ground that they had ninnin rights and did not have to recognize their uncles' authority; conflict ensued.

Sometimes the alab made the division before his death so each of his children had rights in a portion of land. The recipient generation of ninnin and their female children have dri jerbal rights in the land. The male descendants of this generation have ajri rights only. There is much of this today; especially on Maloelap, Aur, and Wotje.

Ninnin land is always given by the father to his children. The donor may be such a strong personality that he is able to go against the wishes of his bwij relatives to allocate the land outside of the bwij. There have been instances of this deviation from the norm. Most types of imonaje may become ninnin.

Morjinkot (Ralik), Bolman Mare (Radak), ("take at the point of the spear") --land given by iroij to a warrior for bravery in battle. After the battle was over, victorious iroij always called the iroij erik and alab(s), "the ones who know more than the others", together to talk it over. They sat and listened to the iroij. He would then call the men to his house and would say, "I give you (such and such a land holding)--morjinkot. Then he would pass the word to the assembled people who had come to honor him, bearing ekkan. Morjinkot was always given by the iroij only to kajur. Whenever land was given as morjinkot, the people living on the land might be allowed to remain on the land as workers for the new alab or they might be sent away and new people placed on the land. The iroij told the original dwellers on the land where to go.

The recipient could give the land to his children or to his bwij. It was not supposed to be given to anyone but a relative. The permission of the bwij had to be obtained in order to give land to son. If the original recipient gave it to the bwij, it followed the custom through the bwij. Once the land is passed down through the bwij, it must continue this way. It is up to the first recipient to decide: "He is a very important man". If it should start through the paternal side, it must continue this way; may not be changed.

This is very important but is sometimes violated and causes trouble. Sometimes, a man would give the land to his wife; this was "wrong", and was done very rarely. When land was given to the wife and from her to her bwij, much trouble started. Usually the first man who received morjinkot from the iroij gave the land to his bwij rather than to his children. A man receiving morjinkot could by-pass his brothers and sisters.

The recipient would tell the iroij how he wanted to dispose of the land he had received as morjinkot. The iroij then informed the iroij erik and alab(s) of the disposition of the land. The iroij could prevent the man from disposing of the land if he thought it was not right.

If the man's bwij had fought hard in the war, the iroij would instruct the man to leave the land to the bwij; or if the man and his son or his brothers were good fighters, the iroij might favor the paternal side, i.e., dependent upon actions in the war; which group fought the hardest. If the man had no brothers, sisters, children, or relatives on the paternal side, the land went to the bwij. Although this land is given to an individual, the bwij is included--paternal relatives also. Recipient conferred with his uncles, and they all divided the land.

A man usually had to confer with his alab for disposal of morjinkot (after he received it) even though the alab had no part in the war. The land was divided among the recipients and his siblings, only to clear and work, not to keep. The siblings were assigned to different wāto(s) if more than one wāto was given by the iroij, e.g., Lānar Island, Arno after the intra-clan (dri Mweijor) war of Tawij vs. Ujelān.

Maternal relatives and paternal relatives both used the land. Maternal relatives have a "real right" in the land. Paternal relatives could get food from the land but did not have "real" rights in the land. After the senior bwij member died, the next senior person in the bwij became alab.

The land usually went to the whole bwij when the iroij made a morjinkot grant. All of the fighting men, dri terinae, were accompanied into battle by their female relatives who acted as "supply and hospital corps", carrying water and food for their men folk, usually in a coconut shell container. The women involved were called dri bōk bōkạ (person who brings a water or food container). The saying was, "They are following us to take care of us when we are hurt." The auxiliaries did not carry weapons but remained a little behind the warriors, watching and waiting for a male relative to fall wounded or dead at which time they would rush to his side to succor him or carry away his body.

The warrior's uncle would be alab on the land whether he went to war or not. The warrior was under him. After the old alab died, the alab title went to his siblings according to the customary matrilineal system, and after them, to the warrior's older brothers and sister, in order. In a case like this, the man who received morjinkot could never become alab until after his senior's demise, i.e., the benefit accrued to the bwij rather than the individual.

Ninnin could, however, be made in the first instance. The alab could make the division ajej for all of his children. This may be done generation after generation. This has been done on Mejij Island (as previously mentioned). There one may see small wāto(s) with only fifteen trees. This caused much friction. The alab divided up the land among all of the bwij members. This was last done during Japanese times. The Mejij people realized how impractical this was and have stated that they believed the practice of ninnin has been the cause of much trouble.

The children usually work the land together, and it is inherited like lāmoren land through the bwij.

A man could not allocate the land to his son alone; the bwij had to share. It was impossible for the land to be given to an outsider. On Wotje, land was given (in one case) to relatives of the mother due to extinction of the bwij. The iroij elap Jortaka turned the land over to the oldest of the mother's relatives. Informant never heard of a man giving land to anyone outside the bwij. The iroij would become angry." The land will automatically go to the next senior bwij when the oldest bwij becomes extinct, as has occured during time of war.

Waienbwe--land given by the iroij as a reward for forecasting the future. A dri bubu (magician) was attached to the iroij'(s) court and advised him as to the appropriate time for going to war, building a new house, going fishing, etc. But land was given for giving advice on war only; food, mats, etc., were given for prophesies not connected with warfare. A dri bubu was given land one time only by the iroij for past, present, and future prophesies. The dri bubu was and is a highly respected person and many tabus were and are still attached to his activities.

Informant's father learned magic from Bouliej, iroij lablab of Northern Radak, who taught his sons and grandsons. He was very proficient at bubu. In the past, the iroij knew more about magic than anyone else. However, the restrictions, especially sexual, caused the iroij to maintain a magician in his entourage. This knowledge, according to legend, was taught by two demigods, Lewij and Laniej, who came down from heaven and lived at Buoj Island in Ailiñlaplap Atoll for a while, teaching tatooing as well.

Waienbwe was a reward for personal services and could be ninnin to the recipient's children or could be passed on through his bwij at his discretion. The recipient becomes alab whether he is the senior member of the bwij or not. He may have an uncle or brother who is senior to him and his alab, but this man will be alab on the bwij land only. The recipient of waienbwe or kworaelem land will be an alab himself on this land.

Kwodraelim--land given by iroij to a man who sailed with him and bailed out his outrigger canoe (very hard work and necessary to keep the canoe afloat and enable it to keep underway) in war time and peace time. This type of land could be passed on through maternal or paternal side--son or daughter at the discretion of the recipient--like waienbwe. The reward of kwodraelim could be deferred until a later date. It was like waienbwe in that it was given as a reward once to an individual and was inherited like waienbwe.

Anburo (older word: kitre)--general term for presents of food, clothing, etc., given by a man to a woman before and/or after he marries her. Anburo (literally: "of the heart") and kitre ("out in the open") as opposed to bonerik (something one hides to buy the heart of the girl one loves). Kōbwōjbwōj is the new slang expression for the latter type of gift. An analogy is drawn by

informants, with two sailing canoes in a race. The paddling done by the men in one of the canoes which gives the extra advantage and wins the race is like the kōbwōjbwōj (gift) given by one of two men who are courting the same girl. The word has a slightly ribald connotation.

Taro patches are sometimes given as kitre.

Katleb--land allocated by the iroij lablab to a kajur. The word was derived from katleb (large planting), i.e., the iroij plants (trees) people on the land. "Plant the whole tree", i.e., "Plant the island, all of it, with people". Katleb means all former inhabitants were cleared off the land, no one remaining on it at time of the gift. Whenever land was given as morjinkot (reward for bravery) after a war, the inhabitants might be sent away if any survived, or they might be allowed to remain as workers for the new owner. If the people were thrown off the land because one of their bwij had offended the iroij (collective punishment), this iroij would not take care of their needs for land. However, another iroij, hearing of this expulsion, might invite the dispossessed ones to his side and would settle them on his land, thus gaining more adherents.

Katleb does not necessarily imply punishment. If the iroij moved people off the land merely to provide land for others (not to punish transgressors), he would find land for the people whom he had dispossessed. He usually "confiscated" land from a bwij that had plenty of land.

Some katleb land had no people on it when it was "planted", due to a natural disaster, e.g., land on Ebon where all people had been killed by a typhoon about 150 years ago.

Katleb is always given to an individual, not to a bwij. The individual may call the bwij in if he wants to. He may give it to his children as informant's ancestor did 100 years ago. Katleb land may be given away to outsiders, but informants have never heard of this happening. "A man naturally wanted to take care of his kin folk or children." Only the original recipient could give it to whomever he wished, but after that it followed the regular custom through the bwij. Katleb is then inherited through the maternal side (bwij) like lāmoren land.

Mo land, Kotra (Rālik and Radak), Juluburin Ne (Radak only)--personal land of the iroij. Each iroij lablab had land called mo. He might say, pointing to an island or a parcel of land, "That is my mo." From that moment on, that particular land was forbidden to anyone but the iroij or people to whom he gave special permission. The word emo itself means forbidden or tabu.

When an individual is being treated for certain ailments, he is mo. Sexual intercourse is forbidden both to himself and the dri uno (medicine man) who is treating him during the period of treatment.

This term is derived from Jemo, an island in northern Radak, which according to tradition is the residence of Lawi Jemo, the spirit or ekjab of an iroij lablab of long ago. It was believed that Lawi Jemo, the high iroij of Jemo, dwelt in a huge kañal tree from which he sometimes emerged to walk around the island. On these occasions he is said to have appeared as a tall, strong, handsome man "because he was an iroij."

Jemo is the home of myriads of turtles and birds whose flesh and eggs have been a valuable source of protein for the people of the neighboring atolls. Stylized ritual was connected with the first food gathering expedition of the year which occurred in the summer time (rak). A fleet of canoes would sail from one of the neighboring atolls under the command of the iroij. The kakollol (or navigation aid used to fix the position) of Jemo is said to be a large flock of birds that fly out to meet the canoes about ten or fifteen miles from the island. When the birds were sighted, the helsmen would exclaim: Drorōr timmej or Drorōr mej (eyes down), as a sign of honor and respect to Lawi Jemo.

When the canoe of the expedition came in sight of Jemo Island, the women in the party had to hide under mats in the canoe; otherwise, bad luck in gathering flesh and eggs was certain to follow, so it was believed. As soon as Jemo was sighted, it was emo to use ordinary Marshallese--the laroij language was mandatory.

When the canoes were being hauled up on the beach, special roro (work chants) were used:

"Rubrub kane in madren e wulik
Karoñroñ ie jitoñ,

"Jitoñ rik jitoñ."

"Break up firewood, firewood,
So that we will be able to
rest by the fire,
Charred wood, a little charred
wood."

This was followed by:

"Rubrub jitoñ in ib jen ko karoñroñ ie jitoñ.
Jitoñ rik jitoñ."

"Break up charred firewood so that we shall gather strength at
the charred firewood."

These canoe chants were used on all of the "bird islands". They were used as late as July, 1949, on Jemo. "To make the people stronger." Several elderly informants on Ailuk and Mutrōk (nearby atolls) expressed their belief that Lawi Jemo gives them strength to haul the canoes up on the beach when they use these chants.

The iroij and all of the expedition went ashore. The iroij had to lead the first trip of the year, and he was the first person to step ashore.

Before the party commenced their search for eggs, etc., divine sanction was requested. Everyone assembled on the beach before proceeding inland and cut a leaf of coconut frond. With the iroij leading the way, they walked toward Lawi Jemo (the kañal tree) in single file, each individual carefully stepping in the footprints of the person in front of him so that only one set of footprints would appear--as if only one person had been there.

Women were required to hold mats over their heads while on the island so that they could only see the ground well enough to gather eggs, etc. They were forbidden to see Lawi Jemo. Strict silence was observed on the way to worship Lawi Jemo.

When they reached the tree, each man placed his coconut leaf over a branch of the tree and then sat down in front of the tree and waited for a breeze to come and blow the leaf off. When this occurred, the kebbwi in bwil (ritual name for the iroij on this occasion) would say: "Wuriñ" (we are lucky). If some branches also fell, the same word would be repeated.

This kind of ritual (kabun) is called katobar.

Lawi Jemo had signified his approval. Everyone then proceeded (not in single file) to a special place where marutto, a small, rare plant, grew. The iroij made medicine by pounding the marutto plant. Three yellow leaves and three green leaves were pounded together, and the extracted juice was drunk by all. This was done to prevent anal bleeding and diarrhea which might result from the unaccustomed meal of turtle and birds' eggs. Kirin leaves were made into a medicine using the same recipe if marutto extract proved ineffective. (This treatment for diarrhea is still used today throughout the Marshalls; sometimes the leaves are merely sucked.) After taking the preventative medicine, turtle eggs were gathered independently.

Before eating, everyone reassembled before the sacred tree to resume the ritual. The iroij or a senior alab whom the iroij had appointed stood before Lawi Jemo and commenced chanting:

"Jej jar um"-"we start to pray."
"Jelbo I jelbo, jelbo I lip ke kijen Lawi Jemo-"we worship, we worship, we worship--these eggs fed to Lawi Jemo."

"Ikri, ikbi eañ eo, Lajibwinemon"-"move it, take it, to the north for Lajibwinemon is the iroij of the north."

"Ñon rak Lorok"-"to south for Lorok is the iroij of the south."

"Ñon rear Lokbea"-"to east for Lokbea is the iroij of the east."

"Ñon kabiloñ Lokabiloñ"-"to the west for Lokabiloñ is the iroij of the west."

As each direction was named, four eggs were thrown out in that direction as an offering to the ekjab. The eggs were then recovered and the principal in the ritual consumed all of them. The remaining eggs were divided up and eaten by the others in the party after the leader had eaten the sacrificial eggs.

A special chant, roro, was used to obtain supernatural aid in pulling turtles ashore:

"Bwili erōk ki"- "push, rolling on shore."

"Erōk ki, erōk ki"-"rolling on shore, rolling on shore."

"Eraror wan tapeo"-"roll the food-bringing turtle. This roro is still used by some of the older northern Radak people who believe in its efficacy.

While on the "bird island", sexual intercourse was forbidden and as previously mentioned, the use of everyday Marshallese was forbidden. It was believed that supernatural punishment, mij i lāroij (sickness of the lāroij) would strike the transgressor in the form of dysentery accompanied by severe anal bleeding.

The lāroij language (stone, lā, or foundation of the iroij was mandatory at all times. This ritual language (which is still known today by some of the older people) may have been the ancestral tongue of the Marshallese, modified by centuries away from the homeland; it may have been an exclusive chiefly (iroij) language or an archaic courtesy language. At any rate, it may provide a clue in comparative linguistic studies today, e.g.:

A. ENGLISH	B. COLLOQUIAL MARSHALLESE (FORBIDDEN)	C. LAROIJ LANGUAGE (MANDATORY)
man	emman	dri kabbil
woman	kōrā	maar
boy	ladrik	laberik, naberik
pandanus	bōp	karkar
breadfruit	mā	waerar
coconut	ni	kebor
preserved pandanus	mokon	wairik
bird	bau	bebelber
octopus	kwet	werak
shark	bāko	niñniñ
sting ray	jemjo	jejanjōr
come	itok	jekabuñ
go	ilok	jekabuñlok
child	ajiri	nabdri
ship	wa	jitōñ
eggs	lip	unniñ
rat	kijrik	kilukor
sand	bok	jejakiki
fire	kijeek	mejwar
turtle	wun	wa

When the expedition was ready to depart from the island, the dri meto (navigator in charge of sailing) would order: "Jen rubrub, (let's sail!), ekwe, rube jiton kōne" (put the boat in the water). After all was ready: "Wuj jitōñ kane" (anchors aweigh!). All these orders were given in the laroij tongue which was used until the canoes were half way home. A special roro was continuously chanted by the helsman to remind people not to use ordinary Marshallese: "Ainānā - nānā - ini - nene ene".....repeated (meaning unknown).

This ritual and special language was used on all of the "bird islands" each of which had its particular ekjab, all of whom dwell in trees with the exception of the ekjab of Bokak, Jo Bokak, a red bird (mum) who has been seen recently.

After this initial trip made by the iroij or senior person in the hierarchy, anyone else could make ensuing trips during the rest of the year. This ritual was apparently a method of conservation. Rather than allow people to swarm all over the island, possibly frightening away nesting fowl and egg-laying turtles, the iroij and senior people led the way and the food gathering proceeded in an organized, methodical fashion.

The early missionaries successfully used their prestige and persuasive powers to discourage the worship of Lawi Jemo and the other ekjab. This kabuñ (ritual) was last performed at Jemo during German times, according to a reliable informant, shortly after which the tree, Lawi Jemo, was cut down for boat timber. Today people gather turtle eggs and birds' eggs, etc., at any time of year and walk wherever they wish on Jemo. None of the tabus are observed as far as may be determined. This is true for the other bird islands as well. This religio-economic pattern clearly illustrates the close affinity of the aboriginal Marshallese religion to the ecology.

Mo or kotra land (Radak and Rālik), juloburin ne (Radak only) is land belonging to the iroij elap alone. When the iroij saw an island he liked, he had three tabu signs made and placed on the land (usually very good land), one on each end and one in the middle. These "signs" are called itkiju or jabne (no foot), i.e., no foot but the iroij'(s) may step here, and were made of a plaited coconut frond tied to the end of a stick (informant made one for illustrative purposes). The word kotra itself means the leaf (coconut frond) that makes land mo (tabu). The itkiju were placed in position one time only and were not renewed...."people know about it."

Magic (bubu) was made on the itkiju. It is believed that if any unauthorized person takes food from the island or ever sets foot on it, he will get sick and/or die. Permission to go on the land had to be obtained from the iroij. If any people had been living on the land, they were forced to leave. An uninhabited island was usually chosen, however. When the iroij died, the people could return to the land unless the new iroij continued the kotra. The iroij appointed special temporary workers who had no real workers' rights and who shared the proceeds from copra sales or the produce of the land with the iroij.

This land may be passed from father to son or it may remain within the bwij. The iroij may do what he wishes with it; it is his personal property. If the iroij should leave no close kin, the workers on the land may have it. The next iroij may not recover any of the mo land that his predecessor may have given away.

An informant's father received two pieces of land on Wotje Atoll this way. His father was iroij erik in Northern Radak. His father, Jibunemon, was paternal uncle to Murjil, the iroij lablab of Northern Radak. The informant's father had the itkiju (tabu) signs placed on the two parcels of land, and the land was inherited by the informant who is in possession of it today. Informant is a member of the noble class.

There are other parcels of kotra or mo land in Ebon, Ailiñlaplap, Majuro, and other atolls, viz:

MO LANDS OF IROIJ KABUA KABUA

Ailiñlaplap Atoll:

Islands	Wāto ko (pieces of land)
Toleōn	Batō
Edridr	Barōnekmouij
Enekanloto	Lolinmak
Tōbo	Unbar
Mattōn	Kōkomōnmōn
	Kaiuikan
	Otojome
	Kimemekan

There are no alab(s) or people with real dri jerbal rights on these lands.

Jaluit Atoll:	Ebon Atoll:
Islands	Islands
Arbwe	Eneor
	Mōneak

There were alab(s) and people with real dri jerbal rights on these lands before iroij Nelu took them over as mo in German times. An agreement was made whereby the proceeds from the copra produced on these lands was divided on a 50-50 share basis. This division is still in force.

In Japanese times about 1921, Lobareo, iroij elap of northern Radak, had a juloburin ne (translation: sole of foot / of iroij only may touch this land /), island in Maloelap Atoll on Taroa Island, Drinjen wāto, which he had inherited from his uncle, the previous iroij elap, Murjil. He used to take all of the money from the copra proceeds--iroij erik and iroij elap share, alab and dri jerbal share. This is the richest land on Maloelap.

The iroij may give juloburin ne land to his children or to his bwij. Royal "blood" is a prerequisite for holding this type of land. If there are no royal descendants left, the iroij elap takes the land back.

Lobareo later turned Drinjen wāto over to his son (Laibwij) who inherited all the rights except iroij elap rights which were inherited by Jajua, the next iroij elap of northern Radak. There are no permanent workers on Drinjen today and no alab. Informants have never heard of iroij juloburin ne are passed down from alab to alab; however, there are no permanent workers either, only iroij elap and alab.

Metak in Buro (pain in heart)--land given by an iroij to his cast-off wife as "her husband", i.e., a sort of alimony.* This done at the discretion of the iroij. One informant knew of a case like this at Wotje Atoll.

Metak in buro land remains in the bwij. The cast-off mate was tabu sexually to other men forever after unless the iroij told a man that he could take her sexually. This latter usually happened. A woman who had sexual intercourse without this permission was sometimes killed and the land was confiscated by the iroij. When a kajur husband was cast off by a leroij, he did not receive metak in buro land. He also was tabu sexually at all times. Women avoided him for fear of being killed for having sexual relations with him. His illicit sex partner was the only one killed.

Lowiō--land that had never been used before because of heavy underbrush. There were many of these areas in the old days. There is no lowio land today. If a kajur wanted land, he asked the iroij permission to clear a parcel of lowiō land to have rights in it. If the individual cleared the land by himself, he could leave it to his desired heir.

If his bwij helped clear the land, the bwij inherited the land. The iroij might do the clearing with his own workers and he would keep the land as his personal land. This last happened during early Japanese times, e.g., on Majuro Atoll on Ajeltak Island, Mwōnbat wāto has an iroij and temporary workers only today. Dalap, Monworwor wāto is in the same status but now occupied by an air strip. On Roñroñ Island, Ēñlen wāto, iroij Lañlan cleared it himself in 1912 and changed the name from Tur (a geographic term) to its present name. Dri jerbal were put on this particular land permanently and are working it today.

Lowiō by an iroij may mean that the land may have been used by a kajur but not worked or cleared by him. The iroij cleared the land and the kajur "lost" their rights in it, i.e., a sort of punishment for not carrying out duties and obligations.

Erenteb--"something, i.e., a gift, to put your shavings (from the canoe) in." In the old days canoes were very important in the economy and in the frequent wars. In the absence of metal tools, canoe building was a difficult and time-consuming task.

When the iroij wanted a new canoe, he sent hundreds of his people out to cut a huge breadfruit tree for the hull and other trees for the supports of the outrigger, the platform, etc. Only a few men in a few lineages knew how to construct a canoe. Special knowledge of measurements was and still is handed down within the lineage.

Folded pandanus leaves were used to "blue print" the canoe. Two of these skilled men were usually in charge of the building of a huge canoe for the iroij. These men were rewarded by the iroij with gifts of mats, rope, food, etc.--never land. The other workers received nothing from the iroij but food while they were working on his canoe. One informant saw the iroij Murjil's canoe built and land was not given. Informants have never heard of land called erenteb.

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* Nets, mats, boats, clothing, etc., given to a cast-off wife by the iroij are called mweien tiriamo (these goods- things - of sorrow) or jemlok (the ending).

The man or men in charge of the canoe building was forbidden to have sexual intercourse while the canoe was being built. A dri bubu made magic to aid in building a good canoe. Bola was used before the canoe was built to find an auspisgious time. A canoe should be made when there was no danger of surprise attack that would prevent completion or allow capture of the canoe.

Enen-Kojou (land-of-make disgrace), Jou-Mij (die without land)--the iroij never took land away for adultery if just kajur were involved. However, if an iroij or leroij were involved, he or she would get land from the erring husband or wife.

If a kajur male was married to a leroij who had sexual relations with another man, the kajur might have complained to the iroij elap who would say iroij loman (iroij custom), i.e., the iroij may do anything they wish. However, if a leroij had a kajur husband (known as iroij enman both in Rālik and Radak) who committed adultery, she confiscated the land of her husband's sex partner. She did not have to consult the iroij elap about it. She possessed enough power herself. The leroij could tear her rival's vagina open as additional punishment if she wished; this was done many times according to informants.

A kajur male who had sexual intercourse with the iroij elap'(s) wife was described by a special term, lañ ebuñti (the heavens will fall upon the people / concerned /). The offending male was always speared to death by an iroij erik or bwirak-tak (lesser royalty). The offending wife could be cast off without metak in buro or killed, at the discretion of the iroij elap, but her land was not confiscated. The iroij confiscated the land of his wife's lover, kojjou (throw away). His whole bwij was thrown off the land and told: Jou mij (you will die because you have no land). The land was then called enen kojjou. Informant told of a case of this type that occured in Mutrōk Atoll in pre-German days.

A kajur male who had sexual relations with the wife of an iroij was killed and his land was given to an outsider, usually the person who executed him. His whole bwij was then evicted from the land.

Presumably this idea of collective punishment for individual transgressions of one member of the lineage was designed to prevent commoners from violating the iroij sexual rights and to accentuate the exalted position of the iroij class and everything pertaining to it. The iroij could dispose of the confiscated land as he pleased.

In the case of a kajur woman who committed adultery with the husband of a leroij, the offending woman was often taken to the ocean and drowned by all the leroij. An informant had heard of this happening in pre-European times. In one case, during Japanese times, according to an informant, a kajur male had sexual intercourse with the kajur wife of a bwirak lablab (son of an iroij lablab father and a libwirak--lesser royalty--mother). When his crime was discovered, the offended husband and all of the iroij erik and bwirak beat him into unconsciousness. The husband then forgave his wife and continued living with her.

All of the iroij were tabu sexually to kajur except on invitation of the iroij or leroij. The land of the offending mate leroij (if he was a kajur--iroij emman) could be confiscated by the leroij. If so, all of his bwij was evicted and another bwij put on the land. The evictees would move to the domain of another iroij, as in the case of land alienation of the iroij'(s) bwij. This land was passed on through the bwij of the new occupants and was then classified as kotleb.

The offenders: leroij'(s) mate and the woman involved, were either killed, beaten, or had their land confiscated, any of the three; however, they had no choice of punishment.

The leroij sometimes ordered her husband's death and sometimes her rival as well but usually had them beaten. The most usual punishment was confiscation of land. If the iroij'(s) wife was of iroij "blood", she could sleep with another man and not be subject to punishment by the iroij. He could only "get revenge" by sleeping with another woman or he might merely scold his wife. "Both iroij and leroij have the same power so they cannot punish each other."

Conversely, if an iroij offends his (leroij) wife, she may obtain revenge by sleeping with another man. This method of "paying back", as it is called, is often practiced today by Marshallese of all classes. The leroij'(s) kajur lover could not be punished according to custom and neither could the kajur sex partner of the iroij. An iroij who had sexual relations with the wife of another iroij from the same area could not be punished.

The wife, if a commoner (lijela) could be thrown out after being beaten but her land was not confiscated. If a lercij was offended against by another leroij, the same thing applied as in the case of the two iroij. Informant laughingly told of an iroij who slept with the lijela (commoner wife of an iroij lablab). When the cuckold found out about it, he became angry but did not do anything about it. "A kajur would have been killed." This incident occured shortly before World War II. However, for example, if an iroij from the Rālik Chain came to Radak and trespassed sexually on a Radak iroij'(s) wife, war would ensue. This almost precipitated a war on Majuro more than one hundred years ago.

A bwirak (lesser iroij) who slept with a lijela would have his land confiscated but not killed; presumably because he was a member of the royal class. The land confiscated by a leroij from her rival could be given to the husband of the adultress. This was only done occasionally, and this land was passed down through the man's bwij. Land of this type was called mweien tiriamo (goods of sorrow). The land of a man who slept with the lijela (commoner wife of an iroij) was never given to his wife but was kept by the iroij.

Kaamnak--(not a land title; verb) "to put someone on the land, house, etc. Similar to kotleb land; it may be any type of land. It has often been land given by one iroij to another, e.g., Jebrik Lokotwerak, iroij lablab of one-half of Majuro Atoll during Japanese times, gave an island on Majuro Atoll to Litokwa, an iroij from Eton Atoll in the Rālik Chain. Litokwa had promised to kaamnak land to Jebrik in return. He did not keep his promise, however, so Jebrik took the land back. This type of land is used by the iroij recipient, and after his death, it reverts to the iroij donor.

Kotra land, iroij personal land, has been given as kaamnak. Kaamnak provided the iroij with a place to stay when they visited outside their own atolls, e.g., Toemeiñ iroij of northern Radak, had land of this type in Jaluit Atoll in the Rālik chain during the Japanese times.

While the iroij is away from his kaamnak land, the money share from the land is given to the original iroij. Food is given to any of the recipient iroij'(s) workers who may be on the land, e.g., workers of iroij Toemeiñ on his kaamnak land on Jabor, Jaluit Atoll.

The usufruct rights in kaamnak may be transferred to a third party, e.g., during the Japanese period, iroij Jebrik Lotokwerak of Majuro gave Jable, a piece of land on Majuro, to iroij erik Lañlan of Majuro as kaamnak. The latter had a boat made by a half-caste, Joachim de Brum, and turned this land over to him for his use in payment for the boat. He predeceased his half-caste friend, and the land reverted to the original donor.

Workers of this type of land will remain on the land, make ekkan, and give the copra share to the new iroij when he is there. This individual will inform the original iroij who will reply "keep it" (money and ekkan), i.e. temporary tenure is recognized by everyone involved.

CONCLUSION

The Marshallese system of land tenure has been modified in certain respects due to the acculturative influence of the bearers of western culture. Warfare has been eliminated from the pattern of culture and consequently land ownership does not fluctuate as radically as in the days of inter-clan and familial strife.

With the introduction of foreign administrative authorities and foreign concepts, the authority of the royal (iroij) class has progressively become weaker. However, as was stated initially, the system of inheritance and usufruct has been retained albeit modified in regard usufruct and is operating today with no overt indications of overall disintegration and with all indications of continuance. Whether further acculturation and exposure to the concepts of the American socio-economic system will cause a breakdown of the present Marshallese system of land tenure remains to be seen.

It is strongly recommended that the program of returning the former Japanese government lands to the former Marshallese owners and the payment of claims against the United States government for occupation and damage to land be expedited. It is further recommended that the land shall never be allowed to pass into non-Marshallese hands.

This is the explicit desire of the Marshallese people and was presented in a joint, unanimous resolution in the meeting of the second "Marshallese Congress" in August of this year. As such, it deserves the most serious consideration by the powers that be.

This is particularly important in view of the steady increase in population due to the superior facilities offered by the American medical program which has almost entirely eradicated venereal and other diseases that have prevented large population increase in the past.

There is no serious population pressure at the present time, but the time may come when it will become necessary to utilize every piece of land to the maximum extent as in the Southern Gilberts. This eventually should be anticipated and prepared for.

ADDENDUM

A possible future trend was seen only this week in the request of an alab on Jarej Island, Majuro Atoll (adjacent to the Administrative Center) to collect cash rentals from various individuals whose bwij lands are in other areas and who have built retail stores and bakeries on this individual's bwij land.

GLOSSARY

A brief resume of terminology used in connection with land rights follows:

Ailiñ.....	atoll
Ajri.....	literally "child"; as used in reference to a person living and working on his father's land.
Alab.....	the senior member of the bwij; the head man or woman of a wāto or group of wāto(s).
Bolā.....	divination by means of stones (counted out in series).
Burij.....	land (noun).
Bwij.....	literally "navel"; the extended family group or lineage; used to refer to the maternal lineage primarily but is also used to refer to the paternal lineage, e.g., "that is my father's bwij land." Bwij is sometimes used as a synonym for jowi (clan).
Bwij ec elot.....	means that the bwij has become extinct; all the lineal descendants of the founder of the bwij have died.
Bwirak.....	title of lesser royalty; libwirak--feminine.
Dri jerbal.....	literally "work people"; everyone who works on the land with the exception of the alab. This is a comparatively new term that came into usage with the introduction of a cash economy with copra as its base. The people who have the indisputable rights in a particular piece of land are those who might possibly become alab through their matrilineal lineage. The ajri or children of the male alab form another category and yet another consists of those individuals who are real outsiders, being neither paternal nor maternal relatives but who have been allowed to work on the land.
Ekkan.....	tribute paid to the iroij: food, mats, etc.

Emo..... forbidden, tabu.

Ene..... island.

Eonene..... the main island.

Iroij emman..... commoner husband of a leroij.

Iroij elap or iroij lablab..... king or paramount chief; the alab of the senior royal bwij; leroij--queen or chiefess.

Iroij erik..... literally "little chief"; secondary chief; used in the Radak chain only.

Jikin..... place (noun); referring to a piece of land.

Jikin kwellok..... place of assembly; village

Jikin jemeir..... land of paternal relatives; 3rd person plural.

Jikin jineir..... land of maternal relatives; 3rd person plural.

Jowi..... clan, matrilineal and strictly exogamous with one exception: jirikrik, "because there are so many jirikrik".

Kajur..... commoner.

Kōkajiriri..... adopted child; literally: "to rock and fondle in one's arms", i.e., to "look out" for a child.

Lijela..... commoner wife of an iroij.

Mañoren..... maternal nephews or nieces.

Mañoren lōboren..... eldest female mañoren (the most important because her children will eventually become alab).

Nukin..... relatives, paternal and maternal.

Radak..... eastern chain of atolls and islands: Bokak, Bikar, Wutrōk, Ailuk, Wotje, Erikub, Maloelap, Aur, Majuro, Arno, Mille, Tōke, Likiep, Narikrik, Jemo Island, and Mejij Island.

Rālik..... western chain of atolls and islands: Roñlap, Wotto, Lae, Ujae, Kuajlen (Kwajalein), Ellip Island, Namu, Ailiñlaplap, Jaluit, Namrik, Ebon, Kili Island, Ujilañ, Ailiñinae, Roñrik, Enewetak, Bikini, and Jabwot Island.

Rārōk..... islands (ene ko) or wāto(s) (wāto ko) used for making copra but not regularly inhabited; also used to describe waste land, full of coral boulders and sand left by a typhoon; area of poor soil. Usually the S. or S.E. portion of an atoll. Called aeañ when on N. or N.W. and liklal when in the western portion.

Rukorea (Rālik), Muleba (Radak). maternal uncle.

Dialectical differences in terminology (Rālik and Radak chains) are noted where existent in this paper.

Diacritical marks: ā--as in back, sack; ō--approximately as "u" in murder; ñ--"ng" as in sing, king, etc.

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APPENDIX

MODIFICATION OF THE LAND TENURE SYSTEM ON UJILAÑ BY THE DISPLACED ENEWETAK PEOPLE

When the former inhabitants of Enewetak were re-located on Ujilañ, the naval authorities allocated one-half of the atoll to each of the iroij lablab Johanes and Abream, following the pattern that prevailed on Enewetak.

In 1949 each iroij then divided the land allocated to him, among his people. Each individual (from the youngest child to the oldest adult) received a plot of land some of which support less than ten coconut trees. The alab does not receive a share of the dri jerbal copra nor (as previously stated) does the iroij.

As may be seen, this new pattern of allocating individual land holdings is a drastic modification of the traditional Marshallese land tenure system. Whether this change was brought about by acculturation from the neighboring Ponape District within which Ujilañ was incorporated administratively during the Japanese period, or whether it was a result of suggestions by American administrative authorities is not clear at the present time, due to lack of detailed information. Further investigation is needed here.